

**GLOBALIZATION, ENGLISH AND  
THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY CLASSROOM:**

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILE OF STUDENTS OF ENGLISH  
AT THE FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN**

**Elizabeth J. Erling**

**Thesis Presented for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics  
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# DECLARATION

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Elizabeth J. Erling

16 June 2004





# ABSTRACT

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This thesis surveys current theories of globalization and then inspects the effects of this phenomenon on the English language. It suggests that not only has the English language changed as a result of globalization, but that discourse about English and the means of analysis have changed. It then tests the relevance of contemporary theories of English to find if they match the reality of how English is being acquired, used and appropriated in the present age.

Since globalization is appropriated differently by the various societies it affects, it is important to consider each individual place with its specific history, culture and politics to evaluate different outcomes. For this reason, this thesis examines the presence of English in the specific national context of Germany, but focuses on a group who uses the language regularly for a variety of international purposes: students of English at the Freie Universität Berlin. Methods used in this analysis include a qualitative analysis of questionnaires, discourse analysis of ethnographic interviews with students and grammatical and stylistic analyses of student essays and assignments. The results of this study shed light on various student attitudes towards and motivations for learning English as well as their means of identifying with the language.

With this in mind, this study suggests that several issues in the field of applied linguistics need to be reappraised, for example types of English learners, categorizations of English speakers, domains of language use, and the role of a lingua franca and its ability to represent identity in L2 language use. Furthermore, this work suggests important pedagogical implications for English language teaching as a result of these developments. As English is being increasingly used as a global language and also being accepted as the common language of the European Union, there need to be corresponding shifts in ELT pedagogy. Such changes would include an increased teaching of English as a global language; an opening up to the teaching of (at least awareness of) L2 varieties of English; the increasing study of contexts where English is used; measures to increase students' perceptive abilities concerning L2 varieties of English; a move away from teaching based on nationalist approaches to language learning; an emphasis on communicative expertise in language and not on following national linguistic norms; and teaching strategies that increase students' confidence in appropriating English.



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## ABBREVIATIONS AND EXPLANATION OF TERMS

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<i>Abitur</i>	German school qualification, similar to A-levels or advanced diploma
AE	American English
BE	British English
<i>Bundesland/Bundesländer</i>	German federal state/states
CDU ( <i>Christlich-Demokratische Union</i> )	Christian Democratic Party
EFL	English as a foreign language
EIAL	English as an international auxiliary language
EIL	English as an international language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ELT	English language teaching
ENL	English as a native language
EP	English Philology (university degree)
ESL	English as a second language
ESP	English for specific purposes
EU	European Union
FDP ( <i>Freien Demokratischen Partei</i> )	Free Democratic Party
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany (the former West Germany)
FU	<i>Freie Universität Berlin</i> (the Free University of Berlin)
GDR	German Democratic Republic (the former East Germany)
<i>Grundkurs</i>	Basic course
<i>Grundstudium</i>	First level of study, similar to Bachelor's
<i>Gymnasium</i>	The highest standard of German high school
<i>Hauptstudium</i>	Advanced level of study, similar to Master's
IE	International English
L1	The first language in which learners are competent.
L2	An additional language that is being learned or has been learned to an adequate level (McArthur 1992:406).
<i>Leistungskurs</i>	Intensive course
LFC	Lingua Franca Core

MAE	Mid-Atlantic English
<i>Magister</i>	The German university qualification, similar to a Master's.
NAS	North American Studies (university degree)
PSE	Pan Swiss English
SPD ( <i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschland</i> )	Social Democratic Party
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America
VDS	<i>Verein Deutsche Sprache</i> (German Language Association)



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---

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All shortcomings and errors in this work are, of course, my own responsibility.

Elizabeth J. Erling

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## GLOBALIZATION, ENGLISH AND THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY CLASSROOM

*Nowadays we have globalization going on and since it can't really function without people communicating with each other, it is important that they speak the same language. English has been taught all over the world as a foreign language and a lot of people already speak it as a second language, so this is a good basis for using it as a world language* (Student of English at the Freie Universität Berlin).

### 1.1 Globalization, English and the German University Classroom

As can be seen in the excerpt above, which was taken from a student's essay, globalization is a reason often given to me by students of English at the Freie Universität Berlin in response to the question "Why are you studying English?" They then mention that the world seems to be getting smaller because of communication technologies. Furthermore, Europeans have increasing contact with each other as more and more countries join the European Union. These developments require proficiency in English for getting a good job, studying at university, travelling around the world and staying abreast of news, literature, music and other cultural trends, as the language is often used as a lingua franca in these fields. Students thus attribute the dominant role of English in the world today to a phenomenon called globalization.

Globalization is also a word that is commonly heard in academic circles. Both in the social sciences and the humanities, this phenomenon has been the subject of much contemporary investigation. The disciplines of applied linguistics and English Language Teaching (ELT) are no exceptions and references to this phenomenon have been made in several recent works (e.g. Block and Cameron's *Globalization and Language Teaching* (2002) and Wright's *Language Policy and Language Planning: From Nationalism to Globalization* (2003)). Moreover, the use of the term 'global English' attributes the current state of the English language to developments which have come about as a result of globalization. This term further implies that English is not a language of one particular country or people, but a code which links people from all over the world.

However, both notions of globalization and global English resist easy definition and, despite the fact that these terms are often used, they both remain somewhat enigmatic. In fact, their frequent and often unexplained use may be attributed to fascination with popular buzzwords of the recent

era rather than to productive exploration of a contemporary phenomenon. This trend has been observed by social scientists like Ulrich Beck (1997:42), who has remarked that the word globalization is “das am meisten gebrauchte—miß-brauchte—und am seltensten definierte, wahrscheinlich miß-verständlichste, nebulöse und politisch wirkungsvollste (Schlag- und Streit-) Wort der letzten, aber auch der kommenden Jahre.”<sup>1</sup> Not only is the term often used in a non-informative way, but Therese Steffen (2002:92) suggests that we currently lack the means of analysing the process appropriately and this, of course, only adds to the misuse of the term. Moreover, T. Ruanni Tupas (2001:83) criticizes the field of applied linguistics for “largely ignor[ing] the polemics of globalisation and simply proceed[ing] to use the term as if it is an unproblematic phenomenon.” He then makes a plea for a comprehensive understanding of this process in order to put forward relevant linguistic analysis and language pedagogy.

The above three authors clearly agree that there is a lack of meaningful investigation into the significance of globalization and that the current methods of exploring this process need to be developed—especially within the realm of applied linguistics. Therefore, this work endeavours to respond to the calls of Beck, Steffen and Tupas to clear up some of the inconsistencies in the use of the term and investigate the implications of globalization for applied linguistics; provide a means of analysing globalization and its linguistic implications; and to respond to this analysis with appropriate and informed pedagogical suggestions. In order to achieve these objectives, this work will offer a broad theoretical assessment of the two complex and ambiguous terms: globalization and English. These phenomena have much in common:

- they both remain ill defined,
- they increasingly accumulate meaning as they develop and spread,
- the spread of one implies the spread of the other,
- they are both appropriated in each context that they affect (resulting in localization and nativization) and
- they cannot truly be understood without analysing their results in local contexts.

After reviewing several recent academic works which explore globalization, it becomes clear that a significant side effect of the process has been the spread of English. The reasons for this are many and include an increase of mobility that has caused a larger number of people than ever to

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<sup>1</sup> The most used—and misused—and least often defined, probably most misunderstood, most nebulous and politically charged catchword, which has caused much debate in recent years and will continue to do so in years to come. [All translations are mine.]

come into contact with each other; the rise of transnational corporations and organizations; the emergence of technology that allows spontaneous communication across long distances; and the decreasing importance of nations and borders. Moreover, the dominance of the United States (US) in media and cultural industries has resulted in the fact that American products can be consumed in English around the world. As the spread of English is so intimately mixed up with several aspects of globalization, the study of this spread entails an examination of greater global trends.

Although works which theorize about globalization give insight into the process, there is no single notion that sufficiently describes all of its implications. Because local and global discourses and practices meet and intermingle, it is important to consider each individual place with its specific historical, cultural, political and linguistic situation to evaluate different outcomes. Research is needed which “geopoliticiz[es] the national and locat[es] it in large (and unequal) histories and geographies of global power and structure” (Shome and Hegde 2002:253). As Fishman (2002) suggests, such detailed case studies of specific contexts allow greater insight into general trends.

It is not only globalization that can be better understood by undertaking particular case studies, but also the English language. As a result of globalization, English is now used in so many domains by varied users that it is difficult to provide a definition of the language that can account for all of its global aspects. Not only has the language changed, but discourse about English has shifted to capture the new reality of English. In fact, after carrying out an analysis of what is meant by the term English in contemporary applied linguistic discourse, I have found that there is a lack of consensus in the use of terminology. Such ambiguities concerning English create problems for the teaching of the language.

In an effort to establish consensus concerning the terms globalization and English, I have undertaken a study which examines these phenomena from a local context. This work investigates the process of globalization and the role of English therein by examining a particular community of English speakers. Such a situated analysis allows a broad understanding of macro-sociolinguistic processes while keeping in mind factors that are not accounted for in general theories of globalization. Furthermore, an in-depth analysis of the use of English in one specific context can provide a situated English pedagogy that addresses local uses of English as a *lingua franca*.

## **1.2 Rationale for carrying out this study**

Within the context of current theoretical work on the nature of globalization, this study will establish concrete forms of this process by exploring individual uses to which the language is put. This work examines a specific group of English users in Germany: students of English at the Freie Universität Berlin (FU). An empirical and ethnographic analysis of these students highlights some of the general trends of globalization and the use of English as a global lingua franca; moreover, it captures factors not taken on board before in theoretical discussions of these issues. When analysing globalization and the spread of English from a local context, it becomes clear how social and linguistic practices are being transformed in response to these processes.

My choice of environment for this project has been determined by the fact that in 1998 I was hired by the FU for an English-teaching position designated for a native speaker of North American English. This situation has allowed me access to a mature community of English users whose patterns of language use and their needs for the language I have been able to observe first hand. My own presence in Germany can be seen as a consequence of globalization, as the demand for English—and particularly American English—is ever increasing, especially at German universities. Moreover, recent measures have resulted in the university opening up to receive more international students and staff.

Thanks to the ease of travel and new technology in the age of globalization, while teaching at the FU, I was also pursuing a PhD at the University of Edinburgh. My academic interests originated in the differences between British and American English and then spread to the development of other varieties around the world. Many of the texts I was reading focused on English in postcolonial contexts and it was not long before I recognized that some of the dilemmas about New Englishes—both political and linguistic—resembled the situation of English in the German university classroom. Carrying out a sociolinguistic profile is a common means of assessing the role of English in a community. Therefore, following the lead of Ferguson (1975), Kachru (1976) and Berns (1988), I compiled a profile which investigates FU students' uses of English.

This profile reveals that FU students are proficient in English by the time they get to university, and for many of them English plays an important role in their lives, both inside and outside the classroom. Most students of English at the FU are comfortable in English and speak it with confidence and authority. They use the language daily in varied contexts and are regularly



exposed to the diversity of English. Many of them use the language not only for their studies, but also at work, on the internet, or in their leisure time. They regularly communicate outside their local or national context and use the vehicle of English to access the international community. The students are also generally well travelled. The majority of them have studied or worked abroad for an extended period of time in an English-speaking environment. Many of them may have been *au-pairs* in Chicago or worked for the summer at the Edinburgh Festival, but they also may have worked on a farm in Ghana, volunteered in a hospital in Calcutta, or studied for a year in Sydney.

When these students return from their time abroad, they often bring back with them authentic accents and vocabulary, marking the place where they have spent their time. One student, for example, had problems in her pronunciation class because she learned her English in Ireland and pronounces *three*, not with its standard pronunciation [θri/], but as *tree* [tri/]. Another student, after volunteering in Calcutta for one semester, complained: "Living in India really screwed up my English." When I asked her to clarify that statement she confessed that the experience had actually helped her with communication skills, but she thought that it had "spoiled" her grammar and therefore made university language classes more difficult. I have also known students from Nigeria and Ghana who consider themselves fluent in English but failed the entrance exam to study English at university and were thus required to take a remedial course for a semester in order to boost their language skills. For these students, their experiences with English in the classroom are rather different from those outside university. While they generally judge themselves to be successful communicators in English, their university performance does not endorse this impression.

And this is why I began to think more seriously about these students' uses of English. Should students who have learned other Englishes be disadvantaged in their English courses? Do university programs only allow for standard British or American English and have no room for deviations from this model? If this is true of the FU, where there has always been an openness for more than one model of English (because of the university's ties with the US), then it must certainly be true of other institutions that adhere more strongly to a monolithic model. As I began to realize the complex nature of teaching English to university students during the age of globalization, I saw that there needed to be changes in theoretical and pedagogical practices to better suit the needs of these students. As the German university system is in the midst of restructuring in response to national as well as European measures, I realized that a detailed study

of the English language teaching programme would be timely, as its results may also shape upcoming university reforms.

While I started to doubt the pedagogical goals of the German university classroom, I also began to wonder if these students were not speaking and writing a new variety of English. In a world where English both functions as a global language and is appropriated to several different local contexts, I was having more problems employing L1 standards of correctness, as they seemed neither possible nor useful to maintain. In light of works by various authors (i.e. Kachru 1985a; 1992a, Pennycook 1994 and Brutt-Griffler 2002), clinging to a native-speaker based pedagogy also seemed inappropriate. Social and cultural shifts due to globalization as well as shifts in how we perceive the English language require corresponding changes in pedagogic practises. Thus this work is an attempt to provide a situated theory of ELT which looks at “the prevailing sociocultural situation of the learner group in question, then at their needs and desires within this sphere” (Bartlett 2001:33). In doing this, while realizing that this study cannot be wholly transferable because globalization has varied outcomes in each context, I hope that at least some of my results will be useful in considering other places, cultures and languages and their relationships to English.

### **1.3 Framework of chapters**

As an attempt to define globalization, Chapter 2 of this work inspects major theoretical works on the concept. Here I trace the term back to when it was first used—by people like McLuhan (1969) and Levitt (1983)—to describe cultural and economic trends. I then look at further developments of the term’s meaning put forward by other social scientists (e.g. Robertson (2003)). When examining these theories, it becomes obvious that there is no overall consensus about what globalization means and how it is affecting communities around the world. However it is established that the process entails the spread of English.

With this in mind, I review academic work that accounts for this spread, investigates varying uses of English and reports that the language is used by more L2 speakers than L1 speakers. Moreover, several localized varieties of English have emerged in the postcolonial context and, because of the desire to be distanced from the colonizer, have been appropriated to suit the local context. Many of these varieties have been codified and are being implemented in educational contexts. The academic recognition of these varieties can be seen in the establishment of a field of study for world Englishes. In addition, there has been a shift in the discourse of applied linguistics,

which attempts to give more currency (i.e. symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1991)) to postcolonial varieties of English and therewith account for the global nature of the language.

One place where English is currently spreading is in the evolving community of Europe. Here the situation echoes that of the postcolonial context, as English is being promoted as a useful *lingua franca* that allows a relatively neutral means of communication between speakers of other languages. However, many groups resent the dominance of English as a sign of US hegemony and, what is more, fear that its use will some day eclipse that of other European languages. For this reason, several linguists are proposing that English be stripped of its traditional roots and that the language be appropriated to its European contexts, so that its users would no longer need to follow other national norms. Currently there is much linguistic investigation into European uses of English and into an emerging European standard of English.

In Chapter 3 I find that, since English is now a widely pluralistic language with as many owners as speakers, the whole concept of 'an English language' has been put into question. Certain ambiguities have arisen, for example, about what makes up the standards of English and which norms should be followed in the varied contexts where the language is taught. Because of the ambiguity surrounding the discourse of English, this chapter is dedicated to exploring contemporary conceptions of the English language and establishing consensus within the discipline. I first explore new labels which have been proposed to capture the global use of English and then inspect various proposals for guidelines in using English as a *lingua franca*. Several scholars suggest that new pedagogical standards should follow from the changing perception of the English language. Scholars such as Marko Modiano (2000; 2001), Jennifer Jenkins (2000; 2002) and Barbara Seidlhofer (2001a; 2002b) promote proposals for teaching a type of English that would function as a *lingua franca* without its learners having to adopt native speaker norms. This ideology entails that the L2 speech community should no longer be 'norm-dependent' but 'norm-developing' and perhaps even someday 'norm-providing' (Seidlhofer 2001a).

In searching for a comprehensive definition of English in times of globalization, I find that there is a lack of consensus in all of the following: an appropriate name for the English language as it is used globally, a description of the language and an appropriate theory of how it should be taught. I therefore catalogue the various names and definitions of English and try to establish the positions where various scholars of English concur. The points of consensus include:

- there is no ‘native-speaker custodian’ for English (Widdowson 1994) and the language is owned by the different communities who use it. Therefore, norms of use should be loosened or expanded to include L2 uses;
- English is not a ‘neutral’ language, as some have claimed, but it is also not a language that is irrevocably linked to any particular world view. Therefore language educators should encourage learners to appropriate the language and use it as a channel of resistance (Canagarajah 1999).

However, once this is established, there is still ambiguity about the way in which English should be taught when considering its multiple uses in the world. More importantly, it remains unclear whether theoretical descriptions of English match the actual uses of English as a global language and the motivations and attitudes held by those who are using it as a lingua franca. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out case studies of English users to understand the role of English in each particular context and to situate an appropriate English pedagogy for these language users.

It is for this reason that I have undertaken an empirical assessment of one specific community of English users, a description of which is provided in Chapter 4. This chapter establishes the grounds for a sociolinguistic profile of students of English at the FU—the context in which I have been teaching university students of English since 1998. This profile includes the results of a statistical analysis of questionnaires completed by 101 students, follow-up interviews with five students and excerpts from student essays collected over the time that I have been teaching at the FU. This study has been designed to gain insight into the process of globalization by examining the role of English use in a particular classroom community. It provides an example of how English is appropriated as a global language by one group of students within a particular context.

The first part of this assessment provides a general description of the population that has been sampled. This information has been attained by carrying out a questionnaire—based on previous studies carried out by Preisler (1999a) and Ladegaard (1998)—which assesses students’ experiences with, attitudes towards and motivations for learning English. I then introduce five students with whom I carried out interviews to supplement this research: Alina, Beatrice, Diane, Oskar and Steffen. These students’ in-depth accounts of their experiences with English provide further insight into the quantitative results established. In addition, excerpts from student work based on experiences with English will be cited in order to give more balanced insight into perceptions of and attitudes towards globalization and English. This chapter then focuses on



students' English-learning histories and their motivations to study English at university. It offers an account of the domains in which they are likely to encounter English. Their contact with the language is vast and includes extensive use of English with computers and on the internet and while travelling, not only to English-speaking countries but also to places where English is used as a lingua franca. This profile also shows that Berlin is an international city which provides students with several avenues to use English—whether within international communities, European contexts or entertainment industries (television, film, media and literature). The last section of this profile describes how English is being used and appropriated in the German language. It includes a summary of the Anglicisms that are most commonly used in German and a discussion of English-German codeswitching, a phenomenon called 'Denglisch'. This chapter concludes by showing how English is often seen as the language of the younger generation and how it is used in so many different arenas that students consider it an established feature of their lives.

While an empirical analysis of the presence of English in students' lives is given in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 widens the focus to analyse contemporary political and societal reactions to this linguistic development. In Germany there has been support for establishing an education system that endorses the learning of English (with domains expanding both at primary and tertiary levels). At the same time, there have also been political measures to ban or at least control the use of English in certain circles. Where the teaching of English in schools is generally welcomed, there is also fear of what is often perceived to be the cultural and linguistic 'threat' of English as a by-product of globalization. I will thus offer an interpretation of this seemingly contradictory behaviour.

The following section of this chapter contrasts the macro-attitudes expressed in political and media reactions to the linguistic situation in Berlin with the attitudes expressed by the students of English at the FU. In revisiting the local context of the FU, I find that students' opinions about English are by and large positive, but they also express reservations about the spread of English to some educational and entertainment domains. This finding implies that while students embrace the use of English, they also firmly support the use of German as the primary national language. What appears to be these students' greatest worry is that multilinguals will no longer be able to differentiate between languages, and thus will master no one language in its entirety.

Finally, in view of both the macro- and the micro-attitudes expressed towards the presence of English in Germany, this chapter explores the negative associations that language protectionism carries in Germany and the positive opportunities that societal bilingualism offers. English offers these students not only an escape from their national identity and its negative historical association but also a link to European and global communities. This type of English use does not seem to threaten the status of the national language but supports an emerging societal bi- or multilingualism in Germany.

While Chapter 5 compares macro- and micro-reactions to the growing role of English in Germany and Europe, Chapter 6 continues with an assessment of the local context and examines students' attitudes towards English. This aspect of the study assesses students' preferences for models of English. At the FU I have found that, in contrast to the findings of Ladegaard (1998), Preisler (1999a) and Seidlhofer and Widdowson (2003), the majority of students have a preference for American English and a widespread interest in the US. This may be a result of the long-term American presence in Berlin and the fact that the FU was initially funded with US subsidies. Although American English may be the favoured variety, most students' interests go far beyond the US to include other contexts. For example, several students expressed interest in the uses of English in India, Nigeria or other environments where English is used as a lingua franca. This chapter then explores students' attitudes towards the proposals put forward for the teaching of English as a global lingua franca (i.e. those by Modiano (2000; 2001), Jenkins (2000; 2002) and Seidlhofer (2001a; 2002b)). It considers whether students perceive English as a language that belongs primarily to its cultural base, notably the US and the UK. As all of these students are enrolled in programmes of North American Studies and English Philology, it is interesting to find that their ideas about English do not necessarily follow a national conception of the language. I find that students are highly aware of the international role of English in the world and that although many of them follow national models of English, a growing number of them perceive English as international property and are not necessarily interested in the norms or cultures of L1 English-speaking communities. The different strains of opinion towards English are then divided into three clusters and the five student interviewees give thorough insight into these various strains of opinion. These clusters are *the US-friendly cluster*, a group of students who express mildly positive attitudes towards American English and feel some sort of connection with the US; *the pro-British cluster*, a small group of students who are strongly enthusiastic about all things British; and *the lingua franca cluster*, a group of students who display no clear associations with English-speaking countries and do not seem to follow a national standard of the language.

The results of this analysis have several pedagogical implications. They demonstrate that university programmes for English need to move away from teaching English in a national tradition, from preparing students for communication with (only) native speakers and from enforcing near-nativeness as the goal of language training. Moreover, such programmes should further accommodate students' global needs for the language. English language education should reflect the diversity of the language and provide learners with the co-operative skills that they require in their lives.

However, it is not only pedagogical considerations that need to be re-examined as a result of this study. Chapter 7 revisits some of the theoretical positions explored in Chapter 3 and questions conventional assumptions about the use of English which are routinely endorsed in applied linguistics and ELT. The findings of Chapters 4, 5 and 6 give insight into students' uses of English and suggest shifting functions of the language in Germany and Europe. For this reason I propose adjustments in both the typology used to characterize English language use in certain communities and in the typology conventionally used to define English language speakers. I suggest that, as English is a global language, most of its domains of use concern *lingua franca* functions. But FU students are not only using English as a *lingua franca*. This study demonstrates that they also use the language as a means of expressing identity and creativity. In conventional typologies of English users, this role is reserved for first and second language speakers. This finding gives further weight to the idea that English in Europe is functioning more like a second than a foreign language in Europe. If Europe is becoming an area where English is employed as a second language, this assumption requires a reassessment of the models of English users put forward by scholars such as Kachru (1985b), Moag (1982), Coulmas (1985), Görlach (1999) and Mesthrie (2002). Therefore, I suggest that these models are no longer sufficient to describe the use of English as a global *lingua franca* in Europe.

Furthermore, if English is functioning as a second language in Europe, there should be increased recognition of localized varieties of English. This chapter concludes by sketching out some features of students' English, which are then compared to the findings of other studies. These seemingly stabilized features of L2 English use lend support to the idea that there are varieties of European English taking form. Moreover, these students' variations of English give further proof of their appropriation and assertions of ownership in the language.

As a conclusion to this work, Chapter 8 offers a summary of findings. It then suggests implications that should be acknowledged in the theory and practice of English applied linguistics. Such suggestions are made in the hope that the field will continue to open up to and value all global users of English.

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## GLOBALIZATION AND THE ROLE OF ENGLISH: GLOBAL THEORIES AND LOCAL INVESTIGATION

### 2.1 Globalization and the role of English

This work is primarily an investigation into the use of English by one particular community of language users. For this group of users, English is not a first language nor a national language, but it still functions as an important, perhaps even essential, language within their community. This linguistic situation implies that this community is responding to contemporary societal developments which somehow require the use of English as a *lingua franca*. Exactly what these developments are is unclear, though their combined effects are often labelled globalization. Thus exploring this community's uses of English is an indirect way of assessing one of the many complex and interrelated aspects of globalization. Before such an analysis can be completed, it is necessary to provide a meaningful description of what the process of globalization entails.

The following—by no means exhaustive—overview of research into globalization attempts to point out the most common perceptions and results of this nebulous phenomenon. As I am mostly concerned with the spread of English in this process, I have focused on aspects of globalization that have the greatest effect on language use, including mobility, the emergence of technology that allows spontaneous communication across long distances, the decreasing importance of nations and borders and, conversely, the concept of resistance. This chapter then establishes the role of English in the process of globalization. In doing so, it will address a number of linguistic studies that have been undertaken since the 1970s that document the causes of and results of the global spread of English. It will also briefly address why English has become the global *lingua franca* it is today.

Following from this discussion, this chapter then deals with controversies that have arisen due to the global spread of English. Arguments for or against the use of English first arose in postcolonial contexts where creative writers were struggling with the question about what language best expressed their condition. This debate in literary studies then transferred to the discipline of linguistics, where scholars began to plead for the acceptance of postcolonial varieties of English, which increased the recognition—or what Bourdieu (1991) calls the 'symbolic capital'—of these varieties, sometimes to the extent that they have become the education norms



in local contexts. Here it will be demonstrated that where a colonial language has been successfully appropriated, its users have been able to turn this symbol of a colonial past into a channel of resistance.

The debate about the global use of English became extremely politicized in the 1990s when the concept of 'linguistic imperialism' was introduced by Robert Phillipson. Since then a bulk of linguistic work has examined the complex dynamics of the global spread of English and the attitudes and motivations of those who teach and learn the language. As a result, the discourse in applied linguistics has shifted and turned towards promoting critical awareness about the spread of cultural values in language teaching.

In the final section of this chapter I will examine the spread of globalization and English in the context of Europe, where English is being ensconced as the lingua franca for intra-European and global communication. This context provides a particularly meaningful setting for an in-depth analysis of the spread and use of English. The discussion surrounding the use of English in Europe echoes that from the postcolonial context. While English is being promoted as a useful lingua franca that allows a relatively neutral means of communication between speakers of other languages, many groups resent the prevalence of English as a sign of US political and cultural dominance and, what is more, fear that its uses will some day eclipse that of other European languages. For this reason, many linguists are proposing that English be stripped of its traditional roots and appropriated in its European contexts, so that its users would no longer need to follow other national norms.

## **2.2 Globalization: A new academic discipline**

Globalization is a many dimensional, highly complex process with contradictory forms and a complex mix of effects everywhere it has influence. Robbie Robertson (2003:229) states that "globalization is a dynamic component of human experience" and that "it is not and has never been a single event, let alone a single process of change." Globalization involves economics, politics, technology, communication and culture. It is also a word used to describe the world economic market and transnational movements of capital, people, ideas, beliefs, knowledge and news. Rita Raley (1998) recognizes that globalization is not only a social, political, economic and cultural phenomenon, but now also an academic one. The globalization of academia can be seen in the intensified interaction between scholars, universities and disciplines.

### **2.2.1 The beginnings of globalization**

Just as the term's meaning is nebulous, authors differ as to when globalization started or what stage in the process is currently taking place. Robertson (2003:3) claims that "globalization as a human dynamic has always been with us, even if we have been unaware of its embrace until recently". He then argues that the third phase of globalization is currently going on: "the first, after 1500, centred on the globalization of regional trade; the second, after 1800, gained impetus from industrialization; the third derived from the architecture of a new world order after 1945" (Robertson 2003:4). This most recent stage of globalization is partly attributable to outcomes of World War II and has been enhanced by the collapse of the Soviet Union. It is markedly different from what has come before, as modern technology has allowed people from all over the world to be more connected and mobile than ever before. It is also during this time frame that the term 'globalization' has come into common use.

### **2.2.2 Interconnectivity, mobility and 'a weakening of the nationalist mosaic'**

One of the first references to something 'global' was made by Marshall McLuhan (1969) in the 1960s. He coined the term 'global village,' and therewith proposed the idea that all societies of the world are connected. Since then, many scholars have made reference to the "compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1992:8). Therefore, one aspect of globalization is "recognition of the many inextricable linkages that bind us" (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1997:68). Anthony McGrew (1992a:1) argues that in a globalized world "events and actions in one part of the world can have significant ramifications in another." Under this scheme, societies can no longer be conceptualized as bounded systems, insulated from the outside world; instead they are all seen as part of "networks of interaction and interconnectedness" across states and societies which make up the world community (McGrew 1992b:318).

The feeling that the world is interconnected or borderless has been greatly augmented by developments in media and communications technology. The availability of satellite communication has brought instantaneous images (via BBC, CNN, MTV, etc.) to televisions around the world. Additionally, new forms of media and new information technology (such as mobile phones, the internet and email) allow people around the world to be in constant and immediate touch with each other. Information technology developers such as Microsoft and IBM are seen as both perpetrators and products of globalization. As English has often accompanied these technological innovations (since many of them were developed in the US), the spread of the

language has been closely associated with the computer revolution that came at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Another feature of globalization that adds to the feeling of interconnectedness is an increase of mobility: The world has been experiencing what John Urry (2001) describes as “the largest ever movement of people across national borders.” Airplane travel has become more accessible and affordable, tourism is no longer only for the elite and holidaymakers regularly go abroad to destinations further from home. Side-by-side with global tourists and travellers are exiles fleeing from famine, war, torture, persecution and genocide, as it has been found that “economic and social inequalities and consequential displacements of population have magnified in recent years and have forced mobility upon many” (Urry 2001). This has resulted in what Arjun Appadurai (1996:33) calls a ‘stream of movement’: “tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest-workers and other moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree.” This rapid flow of travellers and tourists physically moving from place to place has contributed to a decreasing importance of economic and political borders.

Due to the increase of travel, the current phase of globalization also de-emphasizes space, place, borders and nation. Increased international interaction between people due to the use of modern communications has resulted in the creation of ‘slippery space’ (Markusen 1996) or the “disengaging of certain cultural phenomena from space” so that many phenomena now “exist globally (everywhere) and locally (in particular places) simultaneously” (Eriksen 1997:282). This lack of virtual distance due to developments in technology together with patterns of movement across national borders produces an increasingly diverse population and therefore challenges the traditional ‘imagined community’ of the nation (Anderson 1991). Therefore, globalization has been associated with the decline of the nation-state (see Appadurai 1996; Sassen 1996) or at least a weakening of the ‘nationalist mosaic’ (Wright 2002).<sup>1</sup>

Due to this increase in interconnectivity and mobility and a simultaneous decrease (or at least shift) in national boundaries, a globalized world is held to be “characterized by dense networks across space and by an increasing number of people who lead dual lives,” and its “members are at least bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two

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<sup>1</sup> For an excellent review of the fragmentation of old nation-states and the rise of small nations, see Wright 2003.



countries, and pursue economic, political, and cultural interests that require a simultaneous presence in both” (Portes 1997:16). This movement and connection requires a language of communication, the most prominent of which is English.

### **2.2.3 Internationalization and standardization**

Another early reference to globalization can be found in Theodore Levitt’s (1983) groundbreaking article in the *Harvard Business Review*. Levitt argues that the future of business lies in international markets; however, he believes that corporations will not be maximally profitable unless they leave behind the practice of adjusting products in each local market in favour of creating globally standardized products that are advanced, functional, reliable and low priced. He therefore encourages global corporations to operate “as if the entire world (or major regions of it) were a single entity” and to sell “the same things in the same way everywhere” (Levitt 1983:92-93). Because of the popularity of this theory, the concept of globalization has often been connected with standardization.

Indeed it is the case, as Levitt (1983) suggests, that one important feature of globalization is the increase of companies who conduct business internationally or transnationally. Much of the world has seen the deregulation of financial markets, which allows cash flow across state boundaries. In fact, transnational corporations (TNCs) account for 70% of world trade, perhaps 25% of total global output, certainly 80% of information technology trade, and 90% of private research and development (Robertson 2003:198). Due to these global trends, many companies have relocated to countries where labour and production prices are much cheaper: “the production of everything from automobiles to sports equipment and underwear can shift, more or less rapidly, to wherever in the world the materials, labor force, infrastructure and tax breaks are most advantageous” (Waswo 2002:40). For example, 50% of the workforce of Ford, General Motors, IBM and Exxon are based outside the US (Sassen 1994).

It is not only corporations that are increasingly operating internationally, but also international organizations (IGOs), like the United Nations (UN), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the World Bank (WB), and transnational non-government organizations (NGOs), like Amnesty International and the World Wildlife Fund. Since the UN was formed in the 1950s, partially as a means to avoid the reoccurrence of tragedies that took place in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there have been increasing efforts to solve problems internationally. Sue Wright (2000:95) notes that the global nature of many problems, for example in crime, health, the environment,

population growth and poverty, has resulted in the mushrooming of the number, importance and role of NGOs in the 1990s. Indeed in March 2003, the BBC World Service reported that over 40,000 international NGOs now exist. Such organizations have been involved in forming global platforms like the International Commission on Human Rights and the Kyoto Protocol. Wright (2000:95) remarks that “the growth of NGOs provokes more transnational structures, more international cooperation and consequently more dialogue and contact between speakers from different language backgrounds.” This has resulted in an increase in English used internationally, as several organizations use English as one of their main languages—if not the main language—of communication. Although many of these newly merged TNCs and NGOs may not have their headquarters in an English-speaking country, joint ventures typically adopt English as their working language, a policy which in turn promotes a local need for English and results in increased interaction in English (House 2002:246).

#### **2.2.4 Homogenization and Americanization or glocalization and hybridity?**

Because economists like Levitt (1983) promoted the standardization of markets, globalization is sometimes seen as a process which leads to the homogenization of cultures and languages in a system where all institutions come to be dominated by the same principle. This process is perceived to be heading towards a single global language and a levelling of cultures. This aspect of globalization has been dubbed ‘McWorld’ by Benjamin Barber (1995). Similarly, George Ritzer (1993:1) has nicknamed globalization ‘McDonaldization’, “the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world.”

The language and culture that are perceived to be the major homogenizing forces of globalization come from the US. Since 1945, the US has emerged as an important economic and cultural presence and often used its power to internationalize its own economy (Robertson 2003:173). The economic pull of US-dominated capitalist economies (and the decline of alternative models) has forced several governments, businesses, organizations or individuals to adopt qualities associated with or used in the US. As a result, several scholars (e.g. Chevalier 2002) have considered whether or not globalization is just a covert synonym for Americanization, which takes emphasis away from American dominance and thereby deceptively makes the process seem less one-sided.

However, although globalization can be attributed to US cultural, political and economic dominance, it is also a lot more than that. Consequently, Robertson (2003) argues that such

claims belittle the contribution of others. It is now generally agreed in academic circles that “globalization is not the story of cultural homogenization” (Appadurai 1996:11) and that “globalization, whatever else it might be, is not about the creation of a uniform global culture and language” (Goodman and Graddol 1996:2). Academics have come to see that the results of globalization are complex and not unidirectional, as different societies appropriate global pressures differently.

Additionally, scholars have come to recognize that globalization frequently co-occurs with localization, and this kind of local and global dynamics has come to be known as ‘glocalization’ (Robertson 1995). Markets have not been standardized around the world as Levitt predicted; most global corporations employ something like localized globalization to suit the varied tastes of people around the world (e.g. MTV, Nestlé). What is more, recent literature (e.g. Beck 1997; Wagner 2001) argues that the complexities of globalization go beyond the dichotomy of global and local identities to include new social group cohesions or networks that transcend space or place to include ethnic, religious, corporate, virtual and other new identities. In fact, globalization has resulted in the mix of various cultural styles, forms and traditions and produces hybrids and fragmentation. Therefore, this work will take the perspective that although globalization may entail some homogenization, the process also results in local appropriation of global trends and the production of new, hybrid identities.

### **2.2.5 Exploitation and resistance**

One of the most controversial aspects of globalization is that international organizations are actually powered by rich, advanced countries (particularly the US) who survive by dominating other countries. Works such as those by Naomi Klein (1999) have pointed out that the globalization process is uneven, producing winners and losers and a furthering gap between rich and poor. Moreover, several TNCs have been criticized for their exploitation of labour in the countries where they have relocated (e.g. Klein 1999). One such company is Nike, which currently produces more than a third of its products in Indonesia and Vietnam where the daily wage for workers is \$1.50 (Parameswaran 2002:311).

However, another central feature of globalization is the resistance which has arisen in response to the process. In fact, a large number of people refuse to accept prevailing ideologies and thereby alter (or at least challenge) globalization (e.g. Hardt and Negri 2000; Klein 1999). Indeed, the unfair and uneven aspects of globalization have resulted in public resistance to the process, which

can be most obviously seen in the demonstrations against the World Trade Organization in Seattle in December 1999, the G8 Summit in Genoa in July 2001 and the European Summit in Barcelona in March 2002. Here it is noteworthy that such anti-globalization demonstrations have increased their effectiveness by being globalized (see Leggewie 2003). In fact Mignolo (1998:44) points out that globalization allows anti-globalization movements to create transnational information networks in order to fight for their own social and human rights.

Because of the potential of resistance to structures of power, Robertson (2003) views the process of globalization as empowering. He powerfully argues that the struggle for connectivity and global cooperation should not be abandoned and that people need to claim globalization for themselves and insist on its democratization (Robertson 2003:263). In this way, resisting exploitation through globalized networks “provides for the possibility that, in everyday life, the powerless...may find ways to negotiate, alter and oppose political structures, and reconstruct their languages, cultures and identities to their advantage” (Canagarajah 1999:2). This type of approach allows “at last some possibility of freedom of action and change” (Pennycook 2001:120).

But as shown above, both the process of globalization and the ability to react to it are dependent on language. In other words, a common language is necessary for solving global problems as, in order to achieve the connectivity and cooperation required to insist on the democratization of globalization, there is a need to establish what Wright (2000) calls a community of communication. Only if there is communication will it be possible to establish truly global networks that offer the possibility of a democratic exchange of ideas. The role of language, and particularly the English language, in globalization will be dealt with in the following section.

### **2.3 Establishing the role of English in globalization**

The following section establishes the role of English in the process of globalization. The increased contact between communities that has come about because of globalization involves more people communicating over more language boundaries and therewith increases the need for a common code. It is English which often fulfils this need for a global lingua franca. This is why the present position of English in the world today has been considered “both a consequence of and a contributor to globalization” (Fishman 1998-99:27) or “the linguistic-communicative correlate of globalization” (Gnutzmann 1999a:159). Wright (2000) concludes that “English is both the vector and the beneficiary of globalising tendencies” (80) and “the linguistic effect of the



early states of globalisation has been a monumental increase in the use of English” (231). This has caused some scholars to remark that there is now “over-whelming acceptance of the global dominance of English” (Bamgbose 2001:357), as speakers use the language both to take part in and profit from globalization.

### 2.3.1 Documenting the spread of English

Several studies have documented the linguistic effects of the global spread of English since World War II<sup>2</sup>. The book *The Spread of English: The Sociology of English as an Additional Language*, edited by Joshua Fishman, Robert Cooper and Andrew Conrad (1977), was one of the first sociolinguistic accounts to trace the spread of English around the world and to inspect attitudes towards the language in various contexts where it is a second and foreign language. The authors claim that English has evolved into the default language of communication since 1945<sup>3</sup>. They then suggest that English is established as “the major language of wider communication and the primary natural language candidate for an international language in the world today” (Fishman, Cooper and Conrad 1977:7). Since the appearance of this volume, English has regularly been recognized as the world’s lingua franca<sup>4</sup>. In a later survey of the use of English around the world, Fishman (1996:628) concludes:

The world of large scale commerce, industry, technology, and banking, like the world of certain human sciences and professions, is an international world and it is linguistically dominated by English almost everywhere, regardless of how well-established and well-protected local cultures, languages and identities may otherwise be.

Despite the importance of Fishman et al.’s work, it was probably the journalists Robert McCrum, William Cran and Robert MacNeil (1987) whose work went the furthest in popularizing the history of the spread of English. Their nine-part BBC television series and book, *The Story of English*, not only reports on the British and American history of the English language and its consequent spread, it also recognizes (even celebrates) the diversity in the language that has come about as a result of this spread. Their accounts, based on extensive travel and research, explore

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<sup>2</sup> Joseph (2001b) traces the notion of English as an international language back to 1873 and literature on Basic English from the 1930s recognises English as the most prominent international language (Richards 1943). However, it was not until after World War II that postcolonial varieties of English were recognized and sociolinguistic studies started to assess the impact that English had on other languages.

<sup>3</sup> For a comprehensive overview of the history of the English language, see Barber (2000) and Fennel (2001).

<sup>4</sup> For an excellent account of how English spread from the language of empire to the language of globalization, see Wright (2003).

then recent developments in English around the world and include assessments of the language in, among other places, Jamaica, Sierra Leone, India, Singapore and Europe. This was the first international multimedia project devoted to the language and enjoyed immense popularity. The series was later turned into an 18-part radio programme on BBC World, extended and developed by the linguists David Crystal and Tom McArthur.

The names Crystal and McArthur have since been widely associated with studies on the global uses of English. Crystal's book *The English Language* (1988) looks at the population of global English speakers and gives now oft-cited estimates of how many millions speak the language: over 300 million as a mother tongue and anywhere from 400 million to a billion as a foreign language. With these figures he emphasizes that "it is not the number of mother-tongue speakers which makes a language important in the eyes of the world..., but the extent to which a language is found useful outside its original setting" (Crystal 1988:7). Seven years later, Crystal published *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* (1995), a thorough account of English, including the history of its spread and the resulting plethora of global uses and users. This work is celebrated on the book's cover as being "the most comprehensive general reference book on the history, structure and worldwide use of English ever written." Indeed Crystal extensively covers regional variation in both L1 and L2 English-using contexts and establishes that English has become an important language for international business communication, diplomacy, tourism, science and technology.

Two years later in 1997, two books on the contemporary state of the language were among the first to tie in the term globalization with English—one by David Crystal and the other by David Graddol. In *English as a Global Language*, Crystal (1997) offers an account of the rise of English as a global language by presenting an historical overview of English as a colonial language and then as the language of the US economy. He also examines the role of the language in media, film, advertising, computers, air traffic, education and international relations. He inspects the status of English internationally and tries to stress the importance of both maintaining multilingualism and of sharing a common global language. Although Crystal intended for his book to be politically objective and purely linguistic in nature, he has been rebuked for "seeing English as symbiotically linked to 'progress'" and for ignoring the links "between global English and the processes and structures that it is involved in" (Phillipson 1999:265). In fact, both 1997 books have been criticized for not investigating the economic and technological forces driving the spread of English. Nevertheless, Graddol's account has been judged as more comprehensive.



Graddol's book *The Future of English?* was sponsored by the British Council in order to inform policy concerned with the promotion of English language teaching and to speculate about the future of English in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Although he does not commit to any estimates—as the future of English is complex and unpredictable—Graddol (1997:10-11) suggests that nonnative speakers of English will play an important role in the language's future, since the number of people who speak English as a second or foreign language outnumber native speakers three to one. Graddol then questions whether this important role of English is creating reduced linguistic diversity (an issue which will be further discussed in Chapter 5). Finally, he considers global inequalities and how proficiency in English is used as a gatekeeping mechanism to professional and financial success: for example, he reports that a growing number of courses in universities are being taught through English and that up-to-date text books and research articles are often only available in that language, a phenomenon that is particularly relevant to the context of this study.

Graddol has contributed to other important works that address contemporary attitudes, trends and social processes related to the emergence of English as a global lingua franca as a consequence of globalization (i.e. Goodman and Graddol 1996; Graddol 2001; Graddol and Meinhof 1999). In 2000, he also produced a four-part BBC World radio programme addressing 'the language landscape of the 21<sup>st</sup> century,' in which he suggests that the language situation in Europe is starting to resemble that of India, where English serves as an important link language and national languages have been demoted as sub-regional languages.

Like Graddol, McArthur has played a vital role in documenting the spread of English as a consequence of globalization. In 1992, he first published *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, "an A to Z survey of the language over all its centuries, as used by all manner of folk, in all kinds of places, for all sorts of purposes" (McArthur 1992:vii). This reference work, which includes contributions from the most prominent scholars in English language studies, takes into account the uses of English throughout the world with all of its variation as well as pedagogical concerns involved in teaching English as an international language. In a later work, *The English Languages*, McArthur (1998) provides an overview of academic discussions about English which have taken place since the 1980s. In view of the several models of the language that have been proposed, he considers whether English is a language or a family of languages. He then concludes that the traditional view of English is too restricted: "The subject is in reality too large to fit one model—any model, revered or radical, singular or plural—and benefits from our having a wide

and flexible range of descriptions available to us” (McArthur 1998:xv). Considering the global uses of English, McArthur (1998:46) also analyses how people come to terms with the increasing mobility of all English speakers and the fact that no matter where they are, “they cannot predict the accent, grammar, vocabulary, rhythm, idioms, or level of internationally manageable fluency of the next English-speaking stranger they encounter—face to face or on radio, television, or the telephone.” He then notes how this diversity within English presents problems for the language-teaching classroom. In the end, McArthur (1998:213) resolves that “there *is* one English, used by untold millions, a vast mass lit with flashes of standardness that blends at many points with other languages, some also world languages, some of more modest range, and some barely clinging to life. And there *are* so many Englishes...” Herewith McArthur promotes a plurality in the language which has henceforth been embraced by most contemporary linguists. In his most recent endeavour, McArthur’s *Oxford Guide to World English* (2002) inspects—amongst other things—the use of English as a global lingua franca, the growing use and accommodation of English in Europe, the global English language teaching industry and the nature and power of English in its global role, all topics that will be expanded upon in this work.

### **2.3.1.1 Cultural capital and English as a ‘hypercollective good’**

Several works have considered not only how but why English has become a global language. Abram de Swaan (2001) argues that English is a ‘hypercollective good’: The more speakers it has, the more people want to learn the language and the higher the language’s communication value for them. De Swaan looks at the concepts economic theory has to offer the study of language. Like Pierre Bourdieu (1991), he finds that linguistic behaviour is profit-driven and thus concludes that, concerning English, people seek to learn the language because it is perceived to be socially and economically useful to them. Acquiring English is a skill that is seen to lead to an increase of both ‘symbol capital’—prestige and honour—as well as ‘economic capital’—material wealth (Bourdieu 1991). Indeed, the more global the use of English becomes, the greater the motivation becomes to learn it: “Each day, all over the world, tens of millions of students are busy learning English, in the process improving their own position in the world language constellation and, unwittingly, improving the value position of all other English speakers” (de Swaan 2001:52).

In a similar way, Kachru (1986a:1) points to the advantages that are perceived to come with the acquisition of the English language, in other words, the language’s cultural capital:

Competence in English and the use of this language signify a transmutation: an added potential for material and social gain and advantage...English is considered as a symbol of modernization, a key to expanded functional roles, and an extra arm for success and mobility in culturally and linguistically complex and pluralistic societies. As if all this were not enough, it is also believed that English contributes to yet another type of transmutation: It internationalizes one's outlook...Knowing English is like possessing the fabled Aladdin's lamp, which permit one to open, as it were, the linguistic gates to international business, technology, science, and travel. In short, English provides linguistic power.

Both Kachru and de Swaan conclude that the more people who speak English in the world, the stronger the pull becomes to learn the language. Even though the number of native speakers of English is in decline (Bailey 1991:viii the number of English speakers in the world will probably continue to grow, as the already high number of nonnative English speakers in the world cited by Crystal (1988) and Graddol (1997) is on the rise. Moreover, a billion people are reported to be learning English and it is studied by more people than any other language (Smith 1983:v). In fact, *the Economist* predicts that by 2050, half the world will be more or less proficient in English (World empire 2001:29). This suggests that nonnative speakers will play an increasingly important role in the future of English.

### **2.3.2 Reactions to the global spread of English**

Like globalization, the spread of English as a global language has been viewed as both a blessing and a curse. In fact, much of the rhetoric attached to the discussion about globalization has accompanied that of English. The spread of English has been seen to connect people, but at the same time result in cultural and linguistic levelling. This conception can be clearly seen in the following quote:

English involves both positive and negative cultural values: economic development and yet exploitation; political and cultural ideas and institutions (some welcome, some offensive); enrichment of English but deprivation of one's own language; opportunities to communicate with readers around the world yet at the expense of one's local audience (Bailey 1991:165).

Capturing the controversy surrounding English, Jef Verschueren (1989:52) notes that some view English as "the universal benefactor which will ultimately overcome the curse of Babel by

eliminating problems of communication across linguistic and cultural barriers”, while others see it as “the universal villain promoted for the sake of western or, more precisely, Anglo-American cultural—if not political—imperialism.”

On one hand, it is very cost and time effective to have one language function as the language of business negotiations, diplomatic missions, cultural exchanges and the distribution of scientific and technological knowledge, so English can be seen as a language which allows different people to exchange ideas and to relay their culture to other language speakers whose languages they do not know. Some even consider the language as an equalizer, as all speakers can meet there on “comparatively neutral linguistic ground” (Toolan 1997:7).

On the other hand, because of its status as a powerful global language relied on for many purposes and under many circumstances, the use of English as a language of wider communication has been seen as a major source of communicative inequality, as nonnative speakers of English can be at a disadvantage if they have to struggle to express themselves when communicating in the language. This disadvantage has been observed by Karlfried Knapp (2002), who notes that in interactions between nonnative speakers of English, linguistic deficiencies or even simple imperfections in expression made by the one with less competence in English were exploited in order to dominate the discussion by those who were more fluent. Moreover, John Flowerdew (2001) points out that two thirds of nonnative English speaking academics feel at a disadvantage in publishing in English compared with native speakers.

For those who campaign against English, the use of the language in global contexts is not only seen to disadvantage its L2 users but also to threaten, damage or destroy the local languages and culture. English has even been viewed as a ‘killer’ language. In fact, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) considers the spread of English to be genocide as defined in the United Nations Genocide Convention because it amounts to ‘psychological’ murder and she therefore promotes the respect of linguistic human rights. However, Salikoko Mufwene (1998; 2002) criticizes what he sees as simplified views of language death and exaggerated views of language endangerment and calls for a better understanding of the ecology of language. He argues that “languages do not kill languages, but their own speakers do, in giving them up, although they themselves are victims of changes in the socio-economic ecologies in which they evolve” (Mufwene 2002:20). In other words, speakers of smaller languages assume a correlation with economic capital and the social prestige of majority languages, thus giving up their own languages for more socially prestigious



languages in hope that economic capital will also transfer. Therefore, “interest in the continuity of languages should not lose sight of the need for speakers to be well adapted to the changing socio-economic environments in which they also wish to succeed” (Mufwene 1998:8).

### 2.3.2.1 Postcolonial responses

Discussions about the use of English have been especially tense in the former British colonies, where one group may perceive English as “an exponent and tool of national identity (as opposed, say to fragmentary regional identities)” and an opposing view may hold that English is a symbol of colonial oppression or the language of the ‘enemy’ (Kachru and Nelson 1996:87). For instance, following independence in the 1960s, Kenya chose English as its national lingua franca, while Tanzania<sup>5</sup> chose Kiswahili (see Kanyoro 1991). Some, like the Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1986), have gone so far as to advocate the expulsion of English in favour of local languages. Since 1986 Ngugi has only written in his native language, Gikuyu, as he considers English in Africa to be a ‘cultural bomb’ that erases memories of pre-colonial cultures and history<sup>6</sup>. Others, like Sridath Ramphal, the chairman of the Commission on Global Governance, argue that it is impractical and perhaps even counterproductive to drop the use of English, as it could be a strong asset for the country, both as a lingua franca and a connection to the international community: “It is the language we have seen that has evolved out of a history of which we need not always be proud, but whose legacies we must use to good effect” (cited in Crystal 1997:20).

The dilemma of using English comes up in the writings of several postcolonial authors. For example Chinua Achebe (1975), Kamala Das (1997), Salman Rushdie (1991) and Homi K. Bhabha (1994) have all broached the topic of whether or not they should use the ‘enemy’s’ language, with all the alien awkwardness that comes with it, in order to achieve an international audience, or their mother tongue, for which they have an immediate sensitivity, but which will place severe constraints on their readership. The solution many of these writers have come to is “to concentrate on developing the English of their own region, making it into a language which belongs to them, and with which they can identify” (Crystal 1988:261). Concerning attitudes towards English, Rushdie (1991:17) perfectly captures ambiguous postcolonial feelings:

Those of us who do use English do so in spite of our ambiguity towards it, or perhaps because of that, perhaps because we can find in that linguistic struggle a reflection of

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<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that in Tanzania “English remains important in the maintenance of the Tanzanian elite [...and] Swahili itself takes the place of imperialist English in Tanzania by suppressing local languages” (Davies 1996:486).

<sup>6</sup> Although it has been called to my attention that Ngugi still gives lectures for fees in English.



other struggles taking place in the real world, struggles between the cultures within ourselves and the influences at work upon our societies. To conquer English may be to complete the process of making ourselves free.

Several writers who have worked out of a postcolonial background—such as Wole Soyinka, C. L. R. James, R. K. Narayan and more recently Amitav Ghosh, Rohinton Mistry, Arundhati Roy, Maxine Hong Kingston, Catherine Lim and Jamaica Kincaid—have sought to ‘decolonize’ English by varying the language to suit the particularities of their contexts. Similarly, since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century there has also been an increasing amount of Pidgin use in literature in authors like Lois-Ann Yamanka, who writes in Hawai’i Pidgin. The intention of such authors is not to reject English, but to reconstitute it in “more inclusive, ethical and democratic terms” (Canagarajah 1999:2). As Dissanayake (1997:139) argues:

Many of [these authors] regard the English language as the repressive instrument of a hegemonic colonial discourse. They wish to emancipate themselves from its clutches by probing deeper and deeper into their historical past, cultural heritage and the intricacies of the present moment. What is interesting is that these writers are striving to accomplish this liberation through the very language that has in the past shackled them to what can be characterized as an ambiguous colonial legacy.

By appropriating English and coming to terms with the colonial past, it is argued that these writers can use the language without assuming a British identity; they can communicate with the English-speaking world, be released from the colonial hold of English and keep their regional identity. As Achebe (1975:62) remarks, “I feel that English will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings.” He argues that this English does not and should not be like the English of a native speaker: “The price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use” (Achebe 1975:61). In this sense, the language is appropriated as a means of resistance to imperialism.

This phenomenon in which the ‘empire writes back’ is admirably dealt with in works by Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1989), King (1974; 1980) and Kachru (1986b; 1997), which include accounts of authors who use English to express the experiences of colonialism as well as to resist it. These works explore how postcolonial authors write back “to the metropolitan cultures, disrupting the European narratives of the Orient and Africa, replacing them with either a more

playful or a more powerful new narratives style” (Said 1993:260). In a similar fashion, Bhabha (1994) explores the hybridity that results from disrupting traditional narratives—what he calls ‘the third space’. In the context of postcolonial literature, Bhabha celebrates this expression “as the resilience of the subaltern and as the contamination of imperial ideology, aesthetics, and identity, by natives who are striking back at imperial domination” (Kraidy 2002:319). In this way, these postcolonial writers express how “using English to express the lived experiences of the colonized and to oppose the central meanings of the colonizers...is a crucial aspect of global language use” (Pennycook 1995:51-52). In this way, English as both the language of imperialism and resistance has also become the language of globalization.

### **2.3.2.2 Changing trends in applied linguistics**

Not only in literary studies but also in linguistics has the postcolonial perspective made its impact. In the mid-1970s serious academic attention was first paid to the development of ‘new’ varieties of English in contexts where it had been a colonial language. Such studies venture to describe how postcolonial societies use the language as a means of international communication and appropriate the language to make it suitable for their local context. Such studies were then undertaken in various contexts where English is learned as a foreign language. Although the term globalization did not come into common use in this domain until the 1990s, these works document the global spread of English and therefore deal with the phenomenon without identifying it as such.

One scholar who has been central in promoting a postcolonial view of English as an international language is Braj Kachru. Together with Larry Smith and others, Kachru has generated directions of research which take account of the varied ways in which its users appropriate English. In 1978, this became the focus of two major international linguistic conferences and for the first time the sociolinguistic and political contexts of countries where English is used as a nonnative language were discussed academically. The first conference was organized by Smith in Hawai‘i and resulted in the publication *Readings in English as an International Language* (Smith 1983); the second was organized by Kachru in Illinois and was published as *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures* (Kachru ed 1982).

In response to the call for research which examines English use in various international contexts, three academic journals evolved in the early 1980s: *World Language English*, which then became *World Englishes: The Journal of English as an International and Intranational Language* (edited

by Kachru and Smith). *English Today: The International Review of the English Language* (edited by McArthur) and *English World-Wide* (formerly edited by Manfred Görlach and currently by Edgar Schneider). Additionally, several books set out to document other varieties of English, such as J.B. Pride's (1982) *New Englishes* and John Platt, Heidi Weber and M.L. Ho's (1984) *The New Englishes*. Works such as these attempt to document English as it is used as a second and foreign language around the world.

Another successful and important publication from the 1980s was Kachru's (1986a) book *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions and Models of Non-native Englishes*. Kachru considers why and how English is spreading, the effects of this spread on other languages and on English, the value of native norms in nonnative contexts and the nature of creativity in a second language. Moreover, this volume deals with attitudinal reactions to the status and functions of English across cultures, especially in South East Asia. Kachru was one of the first to consider attitudes to English as a component of its spread and to make mention of the seemingly alchemic, or magical, qualities of English that lead to social and financial success (i.e. its cultural capital, discussed above). In light of this, he suggests that instead of trying to hinder use of the language because of its ties with colonialism, its users should embrace the language and use it as an expression of their own various cultures and histories.

With the emergence of postcolonial Englishes, mainstream studies about the English language soon had to acknowledge the existence of models or norms of English that were offered from places outside the 'traditional' sources of the languages—the UK and the US. For example, the volume *The English Language Today* (edited by Sidney Greenbaum 1985) takes into account the diverse uses of English in various social contexts and deals with language attitudes, evaluations and beliefs about the language. Although the volume mainly deals with native varieties of English, Greenbaum (1985:3) recognizes that "Indian English and Nigerian English are beginning to gain recognition as independent national varieties, rather than as deviant versions of British English, because of the changing attitudes of their speakers to their own varieties." He then questions whether it makes sense any more to talk about *the* English language. Likewise, the collection *English as a World Language* (edited by Bailey and Görlach 1982) contains papers which describe various forms of English that have developed outside of Britain and North America and reflect on the diverse circumstances in which English is used. Görlach (1991; 1995; 1998; 2002a) has continued to play an important role in recording the various uses of English

around the world<sup>7</sup>. In works such as Greenbaum's and Bailey and Görlach's, an increasing recognition of the cultural and symbolic capital of postcolonial varieties of English can be detected.

As the plurality of English was increasingly recognized throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, questions were raised about codification, standardization, the concept of 'deviation' or 'error', the validity of the native speaker and problems in the choice of a teaching model—issues which have still not been completely reconciled. Such discussions first appeared in volumes like Peter Strevens's (1980) book *Teaching English as an International Language: From Practice to Principle*, which considers the expansion of English, the emergence of localized forms, international and intranational forms of English and teaching local forms. Similarly, Randolph Quirk and Henry Widdowson's (1985) volume, *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures*, is a collection of the proceedings from a conference about how English should best be taught and learned worldwide; this collection launches a debate (which became known as the Quirk/Kachru debate, discussed in more detail in the following chapter) about the maintaining of standards versus the plurality of Englishes.

Another work that embraces the emerging view of English as a global language is *English Around the World* (edited by Cheshire 1991), which illustrates the range of variation that exists within the language. This assessment establishes that, in several contexts around the world, English is used not only in formal and official domains but also in many informal ones as well. Having examined the complex functions of English as a world language, the volume poses important and provocative questions about the traditional linguistic conceptions of native speaker and nonnative speaker, and the editor, Jenny Cheshire (1991:2), concludes that the difference is becoming "blurred and increasingly difficult to operationalise." She also points out that "the criteria used to identify ESL, EFL and other varieties of English that were once thought to be relatively discrete...cannot do justice to the multiplicity of situations in which English is used" (Cheshire 1991:3). With this in mind, Cheshire questions where learners' errors stop and where legitimate features of a variety begin, an issue that has become central in contemporary applied linguistic research.

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<sup>7</sup> For a thorough bibliography of writings on varieties of English, see Glauser, Schneider and Görlach (1993).



Richard Bailey is another linguist who has made significant contributions to the changing perceptions of English. In his 1991 book, *Images of English: A Cultural History of the Language*, he inspects common perceptions about English that reveal patterns of cultural and political bias. To do this, Bailey first examines the customary praise for the English language, which he relates to the economic, political and military power of English-speaking countries. He then implores the reader to be sceptical of English triumphalism and to question the idea that English was destined to be a world language. In this way, he attempts to query the discourse of English as an international language and question the celebration of its increasing use. As Bailey (1991:287) notes:

Observations about English are a mirror that commentators hold up to themselves; they reflect prejudice and hope, bigotry and pride, scorn and celebration. They offer insights into the social conditions that produced them. Many of them pretend to offer evidence for Anglophone superiority in all fields of human endeavor. Many have justified the most pernicious forms of injustice. Few withstand rigorous and dispassionate scrutiny. English is, after all, a language much like all the others.

The renowned sociolinguist Peter Trudgill has also made an important contribution to the increasing validity given to postcolonial varieties of English. This topic was treated in the book, written together with Jean Hannah, *International English: A Guide to Varieties of Standard English*, which was first published in 1982 and released in its fourth edition in 2002. Trudgill and Hannah, scholars both concerned with variation and pedagogy, recognized that English use around the world differed greatly from the educational variety of standard British and American English. Therefore, this collection was designed to increase awareness about other varieties of English, help educators of the language make informed assessments about their students' uses of English and provide "at least a partial solution to the problem of recognizing and coping with differences among the standard varieties of English by covering differences at the levels of phonetics, phonology, grammar and vocabulary" (Trudgill and Hannah 1985:3). This volume was a first effort to make other Englishes acceptable as classroom models, an idea that has had increasing popularity, as can be seen by the success and continued relevance of this book. The volume, however, primarily deals with English varieties in postcolonial contexts and not with English in its foreign language contexts.

Since the first appearance of Trudgill and Hannah's guide, applied linguistic studies on English have gone a long way to address uses of English around the world. The volume *Standard*



*English: The Widening Debate*, edited by Tony Bex and Richard Watts (1999), is a response to contemporary discussions about language standards in education and includes several articles that consider what constitutes standard English. The contributors seek to widen the standard language debate by bringing a more international dimension to it; however, the volume, apart from one contribution about the use of English in Denmark (Preisler 1999a), concerns itself exclusively with English in native speaking contexts and has been criticized for this deficiency (e.g. Davies 2001). Bent Preisler (1999a) rightly argues that any assessment of standard English cannot be fully made unless one also takes into account the nonnative English-speaking world. Therefore, he examines the role English plays in what he calls 'a typical EFL situation' and then suggests what form of English might most profitably serve learners. This contribution is one of the first to recognize the emergence of other Englishes in a foreign language context and has therefore been influential in my work assessing English in Germany.

Secondly, the collection *Alternative Histories of English* (edited by Watts and Trudgill 2002) includes the history of lesser-known varieties of English in an attempt to respond to the fact that the history of English is traditionally anglocentric and focused on the standard language: "The disregarding of varieties of English simply because the people who speak them are not White Englishmen who have for centuries been established in the southeast of England is also not only totally ethnocentric, anglocentric,...and unjustifiable, but also short-sighted in that it disregards an enormous mass of historical data from some of the most interesting and diachronically revealing varieties of the language in existence" (Watts and Trudgill 2002:27). This volume also points out an often overlooked fact that may offer consolation to those who are worried about the dominance of English, namely that English has always co-existed with other languages. Additionally, Rajend Mesthrie (2002) recognizes that nonnative speakers have had a much more important role in the spread of English globally than is often recognized, a point that is significant for the discussion of English use in Europe in this work.

### **2.3.2.3 The polemics of globalization and English: 'Linguistic imperialism' and the ensuing reactions**

The works discussed above trace the spread of English throughout the world and then give an account of the variation in the language that ensued as a result of that spread. In addition to such descriptive accounts about the spread of English, a polemical discussion has arisen which focuses on the role of English as an imperialist or hegemonic language. This debate can be seen as a

parallel discussion to that about globalization as a homogenizing, exploitative force or as a means of providing interconnectivity and a channel of resistance.

The debate started with the publication of Phillipson's book *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992) and has subsequently resulted in a plethora of literature which discusses the politics of English as a global language. In his work, Phillipson claims that the global spread of English is a continuing form of imperialism and attempts to prove that those involved in the spread of English (for example the British Council) were motivated by colonial ambition. He then argues that English and in particular the EFL industry is used as an instrument for imposition of power and that its spread in the world is tantamount to linguistic imperialism. With this he expresses disapproval for both English and the process of globalization, something which he portrays as an extension of imperialism (see also Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999).

Since his book appeared in 1992, Phillipson has been repeatedly critiqued and challenged for many reasons. In one critique of the book, Alan Davies (1996) argues that imperialism does not equal hegemony, which is more complex and contradictory than Phillipson leads the reader to believe. He also faults Phillipson for not taking into account resistance, "the possibility that oppressed groups' common sense is active enough for them to reject English if they so wish" and for ignoring that "the choice of English...has values of openness, access to and connection with modernism" (Davies 1996:490). Widdowson, like Davies, criticizes Phillipson's theory of linguistic imperialism because it lacks an exploration of how English is taken up, how people use it and why people choose English. Widdowson (1997:140) reminds us that language does not spread without being transformed and that the language naturally and inevitably changes to suit its surroundings; it spreads, gets adapted and becomes subject to local constraints and controls. Moreover, John E. Joseph (2001b) feels that Phillipson's approach is unsatisfactory because it assumes that English is spreading across the world with the benefits accruing to the English-speaking nations and the costs to all rest, both economically and in the presumed weakening of linguistic identities grounded in languages other than English.

Whatever the flaws in Phillipson's work, his argument has provoked a great response of valuable research. Phillipson's contributions to the discussion about international English have led to increased discussion about the cultural and political framework of the spread of English and the English teaching enterprise. As Robert Holland (2002:21) notes:

To whatever extent one may disagree with Phillipson's (1992) analysis...the fact remains that such work goes some way towards redressing an important imbalance. It is no longer admissible simply to accept as a given the status of English as prime international tongue: a critical appreciation of its role, and a critical approach to English-language pedagogy, are indispensable.

One example of such research is the book *Post-Imperial English: Status Change in Former British and American Colonies, 1940-1990*, edited by Fishman, Conrad and Rubal-Lopez (1996), which is principally a response to Phillipson's account of linguistic imperialism. This volume aims to discover with empirical investigation whether the spread of English is an indicator of linguistic imperialism and whether the spread of English only benefits the side of the so-called imperialist. It challenges the idea that the postcolonial spread of English was directly orchestrated by, fostered by, or exploitatively beneficial to the English mother-tongue world. In general, this work refutes Phillipson's thesis that the spread of English is necessarily linguistic imperialism. While this volume affirms that the half century following the collapse of the British Empire witnessed one of the most vigorous and lasting periods of economic expansion in world history, it suggests that English may be the lingua franca of exploitation without being the vehicle of imperialism. Subsequently, the continued spread of English in former colonies is related more to the society's engagement in the modern world economy than to any efforts derived from the former colonizer. Moreover, the authors assert that "a growing need for English the world over might also not occur (only) at the expense of and via the displacement of local languages and cultures" (Fishman, Conrad and Rubal-Lopez 1996:9). Therefore, "the former colonies have had a much stronger impact on their former colonial rulers and on the world at large, not only in matters political and economic but in the very realm of humanist culture *per se*, than would otherwise have been the case" (Fishman 1996:640). Here English has been endorsed as an important global language, as it is helpful in conducting international business and political ventures.

The volume *World Englishes 2000* edited by Smith and Forman (1997) also seems to be, at least to some extent, a response to Phillipson, as several contributors react to his 1992 book. Alatis and Straehle (1997:3), for example, argue that there was no explicit—and very little implicit—linguistic imperialism:

There is no denying that some of the seeds for the spread of English were planted by colonial powers, including the United States. It also can't be denied that there have been,

and are individuals and institutions whose political agendas have included the promotion of their particular brand of English in an ethnocentric, chauvinistic, and even imperialistic way. However, it strikes [us] as naïve, indeed somewhat paranoid, to invoke the image of a well-coordinated, explicit U. S. government-driven scheme—one that involved various private organizations and agencies as well—to promote the spread of English globally.

Here the authors contend that the growth of English cannot be solely attributed to linguistic imperialism, as it is “the result of the fortuitous interplay of a complex set of social, economic, political, cultural, and linguistic factors” (Spolsky quoted in Alatis and Straehle 1997:4). They then imply that, like globalization, English adapts itself more to the needs and cultures of those who need it rather than impose an outside view of the world.

### **2.3.2.4 Empowerment through English**

Since the Phillipson polemic has been introduced in applied linguistics, several scholars have tried to move the debate on to envelop more complex theories of language spread and more productive means of understanding the global use of English. One especially important figure in shaping discussions about English applied linguistics in the age of globalization has been Alastair Pennycook (1994; 1995; 1998; 2001). In his book *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* (1994), Pennycook uses a critical and multifaceted approach to show how imperialism on the linguistic and cultural level is far more complex than Phillipson alleges. Following in the footsteps of Edward Said (1978), Pennycook goes beyond basic dichotomies of imperialism and proclaims that imperialism and resistance have always operated alongside each other. For example, he shows that in the colonial context English was withheld as much as it was promoted and argues that colonized people often demanded access to English (Pennycook 1994:103).

With this in mind, Pennycook promotes adjustments in applied linguistic discourse that take into account both the history of the imposition of the English language and the current conditions and implications of its expansion. He encourages applied linguists to be pedagogically engaged and responsive to their social, cultural and political contexts. One way for language teachers to do this, he argues, is to allow for struggle, resistance and different appropriations of the language in the classroom, opening up space for “many different meaning-making practices in English” (Pennycook 1994:69). This critical pedagogy of English could better contribute to the goal of international language and more appropriately deal with political, cultural and ethical contexts of



language and language education. Therefore, Pennycook encourages language teachers to empower students to assert their ownership of English and use the language of a means of resistance. They should be

political actors engaged in a critical pedagogical project to use English to oppose the dominant discourses of the West and to help the articulation of counter-discourses in English. At the very least, intimately involved as we are with the spread of English, we should be acutely aware of the implications of this spread for the reproduction and production of global inequalities (Pennycook 1995:54).

Following the lead of Pennycook (2001), who suggests that applied linguists inspect how the classroom is related to broader social, cultural and political relations, my study has been designed to gain insight into the process of globalization by examining the role of English use in a particular classroom community within the context of Europe.

Like Pennycook, empowerment through English is also the theme of Suresh Canagarajah's work (1999; 2002), which promotes a critical approach to ELT in postcolonial contexts. He investigates classroom practices in Sri Lanka to see how linguistic hegemony is experienced in the everyday life of people in the periphery and to see how linguistic inequalities are propagated. Canagarajah adds the classroom to the list of channels of resistance, along with postcolonial literature in English and newly established varieties of English within linguistics. He argues that teachers should encourage students to use English in their own terms according to their own aspirations, needs and values, and they should teach their students to critically reflect on the hidden values, agendas and interests embodied in the learning activity. Also making use of the theoretical model endorsed by Canagarajah, I have investigated a particular classroom context to analyse attitudes towards English and ways in which the language is being appropriated. Furthermore, I have tried to be responsive to a localized classroom context and to give a current picture of how English is being used by a community of speakers. This approach has allowed me to "learn from [my] students and constantly rethink [my] pedagogical practice" (Canagarajah 1999:194).

Also inspecting the use of English in the colonial context, Janina Brutt-Griffler (2002) finds that colonial language policies were more complex than the simple imposition of a language on passive subjects. Her research shows how English was employed in the former British colonies of Ceylon, Burma and South Africa, not only as an elite lingua franca but also as a means of empowerment and resistance. She refutes Phillipson's theory of linguistic imperialism by tracing



the history which formed British colonial language policy and finds that British objectives, counter to common perception, were often to prevent the spread of English because of the social capital and mobility it offered. Moreover, she claims that English did not become a world language just because of imperial policies but also because of the struggle against imperialism. She demonstrates how the spread of English has not been a one-sided process stemming from the centre but has equally been driven by African and Asian agency. She thus finds fault with the assumption that language spread occurs in a vacuum, disengaged from language change. My study also follows Brutt-Griffler's theoretical position, as I assess how English is being acquired and changed by its multilingual users. Moreover, as Brutt-Griffler argues, this work reaffirms that English in Europe is used more as a means of participation in an international community and as an expression of altering identities and not as a means of subjection. In addition, the acquisition of English does not entail the loss of national languages but a rising societal multilingualism.

A critique, not only of Phillipson but of contemporary applied linguistics in general, is developed by Marnie Holborow (1999), who offers a Marxist view of the politics of English in the world. Holborow faults Phillipson not only for his lack of empirical evidence but also his failure to address the role of second language users in their appropriation of English. Additionally, Holborow argues that Phillipson's conception of language spread is insufficient, since the 'invading' language is more likely to change to accommodate the new culture than the other way round. She thus concludes that "the 'victims' of 'linguistic imperialism' are perfectly capable of using the imposed language for their own liberation from both imperial and class-based oppression" (in a critique of Holborow by Joseph 2001a:285). Because Holborow (1999) critiques the field of applied linguistics for overlooking the historical and social settings of the spread of English and for downplaying the role of nonnative speakers in transforming the language, this study of English use by students in the German university classroom attempts to redress this failure.

Issues such as resistance and appropriation are slowly making their way into pedagogical guides to teaching English. It is precisely these issues that Claus Gnutzmann deals with in his edited volume *Teaching and Learning English as a Global Language: Native and Non-native Perspectives* (1999). This edition brings together both native and nonnative researchers and teachers of English (such as Alistair Pennycook, Anthea Fraser Gupta, Claire Kramsch, Richard Alexander and Juliane House) to discover more about the rapidly increasing role of English as a means of global communication and the implications of this development on language and

educational policies. Thus, its main aims are “to analyse the role of English as a global language and to develop research perspectives for the teaching and learning of English as a global language” (Gnutzmann 1999b: viii). I have also followed these objectives when carrying out my research.

Also following the current trends of English applied linguistics, the volume *Analysing English in a Global Context* (edited by Burns and Coffin 2001) offers a global perspective on the changing uses and forms of English and offers educators a means with which to develop the skills needed to analyse these forms. Contributions by Crystal, Graddol, Pennycook, and Kachru and Nelson (amongst others) address contemporary issues in English language teaching and applied linguistics. These include the position of the native speaker, the development of new varieties of English and the growth of English as a global language. This collection demonstrates that applied linguistic research concerning global English is starting to trickle down into the mainstream English language teaching classroom. However, the works in this collection still remain very theoretical and removed from the classroom. In an attempt to expand this approach, my work will look specifically at an English-learning environment to inspect how the language is being appropriated by learners.

The collection edited by David Block and Deborah Cameron (2002) was one of the first to include research directly inspecting the effects of globalization on language teaching. Block and Cameron (2002) argue that globalization changes the conditions of language teaching in several ways: more learners are developing competence in one or more additional languages; people’s motivations for learning languages and their choices about which languages to learn are changing; new technology and global networks demand different communications skills; and changing political conditions require language pedagogues to come to terms with imperialism. The book concludes that English language teaching, like globalization itself, does not necessarily bring only negative consequences; however, a critically informed sense of language pedagogy that confronts contemporary political, economic and social issues is called for. My study of students of English at a German university investigates students’ uses of English outside the classroom and their motivations for carrying out higher education in the language. This study will thus address the call for a new approach to language teaching in the context of globalization.

As can be seen above, the topic of globalization is being treated with increasing importance in the field of applied linguistics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In fact, there has been a recent issue of the *Journal*

of *Sociolinguistics* that deals specifically with the issue of globalization. Here Pennycook (2003:517) calls for a shift in the theoretical approach to assessing the global spread of English, which up to now has followed “a limited and limiting conceptualization of globalization, national standards, culture and identity.” In analysing the use of English in a localized university context where a community of university students use the language in a number of functions, which includes the expression of identity in English, this work intends to take up this suggestion.

## **2.4 Globalization and English in Europe**

So far this chapter has shown how English has increased in its number of users and uses around the world and has examined the academic enquiry that has arisen to record this development. It has been shown how the use of English has been treated in the postcolonial context and how the language has been appropriated as an expression of resistance. Furthermore, the question of English as an imperialist language has been thoroughly treated and it has been established that reactions to this theory have steered the field of applied linguistics and thus pedagogical practices.

Now the discussion in this chapter will turn to Europe, where processes of globalization have diminished the significance of many economic, political and cultural borders. For example, the establishment of the European Union (EU) and the introduction of a common currency, both a result of and a reaction to globalization (Wright 2000), have resulted in the decreasing importance of national borders, as powers become more centralized in Europe. In Europe as well, a significant side effect of globalization has been the spread of the English language. In her assessment of the situation, Wright (2000:4) suggests that “the lingua franca which has accompanied and permitted the process of globalisation may play the same role in Europeanisation.” Because of this situation, the context of Europe provides an ideal place to observe the effects of globalization and the spread of English.

Moreover, the discussions about the use of English in Europe echo those that surrounded the use of English in the postcolonial contexts, where voices both in favour of and against English were heard. This analysis will show that many Europeans are concerned that their cultural and linguistic identities will be eroded by the introduction of a unified political and economic system and, with that, the growing use of English. As a result, several linguistic studies are analysing the growth of English to discover precisely what kind of cultural and linguistic processes are going on in response to Europeanization and globalization. Moreover, the discussions about English in Europe are analogous to those in the postcolonial context because there have been proposals for

Europeans to assert their linguistic independence in English and recognize their own localized standards. This section will give a brief overview of these developments.

### **2.4.1 The growth of English in Europe**

Since the end of the Cold War, the development of the EU<sup>8</sup> and the advance of globalization, there has been an even more pressing need for a European lingua franca. Increased contact between communities has required that more people communicate across more boundaries and as a result, people rely more and more on English. Intensified contact between European communities has strengthened the need for a lingua franca and the importance of a common language is expected to increase as Europe expands: ten new member states joined the EU in May 2004. English has evolved into the default language of communication between EU member states (see Cenoz and Jessner 2000) and its extensive use can be observed in several domains, such as business, media and academia: “In reality English is no longer a foreign language in several member states...It is a fact of working and social life for many EU citizens” (Phillipson 2001).

English is now being used alongside native languages in every European country and several studies have shown that its domains of use have expanded (e.g. Coulmas 1991; Hartmann 1996). Moreover, a recent Eurobarometer (2001) survey shows that English is the language which is most widely spoken in the EU—with over 180 million speakers. However, English is the L1 of only a third of that number. These figures show that the situation in Europe well matches the one that Graddol (1997) describes, in which nonnative speakers of the language far outnumber native speakers. European citizens learn and use English in order to communicate with European nationals from all countries and not just with native speakers. This prompts McArthur to predict that “English will be the working language not only for European institutions, but also a lot of Europeans” (in Graddol 1999:8).

The number of people speaking the three most common European languages—German, French and English—can be seen in the following table. Although there is an equal number of French L1 speakers and a much larger number of German L1 speakers, English has the highest number of speakers when considering both L1 and L2 speakers.

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<sup>8</sup> For a thorough account of the emergence of the EU and the formulation of its language policies, see de Swaan (2001) and Wright (2000).



Table 2.1: Proportion of EU population who speak the three most common languages  
(from Eurobarometer 2001)

Language	L1 speakers	L2 speakers	Total speakers
English	16%	31%	47%
German	24%	8%	32%
French	16%	12%	28%

The large number of English speakers in the EU results from the fact that there has been a general increase of foreign language learning in the last forty years. This development has not only benefited English—as there were also observable increases in learning French and German—but English is the language which has progressed most; furthermore, nearly 70% of Europeans were reported to believe English should be the foreign language learnt by everyone in the EU (Labrie and Quell 1997). A recent survey shows that English is now learnt by 91% of European secondary school children, while 34% learn French, 15% learn German and 10% learn Spanish; in addition, nearly one third of the citizens of the thirteen ‘non English-speaking’ countries in the EU are able to speak English well enough to take part in a conversation (Eurydice 2002).

In Europe, there have been significant linguistic studies undertaken to record the growing use of English in the EU and to speculate on developing an appropriate language policy for this new culturally and linguistically diverse political union. The use of English in Europe was developing to such an extent that, in 1997, a special edition of the journal *World Englishes* (volume 16) was dedicated to the subject. In this volume, ten European scholars present different aspects of the functions of English in Europe, including France (Truchot 1997), Italy (Pulcini 1997), Flanders (Goethals 1997), the Netherlands (van Essen 1997) and the former East Germany (Thürmer 1997).

In addition, an edited volume by Florian Coulmas (1991) inspects the prospects and quandaries of establishing a language policy for the EU. This volume focuses on how to establish economic, social and political union while also maintaining linguistic and cultural diversity. In response to this question, Coulmas (1991:28) argues that the educational goal of the EU should be to promote the learning of two foreign languages, one of which should be English. This is a platform that the European Commission has since implemented (an educational measure discussed further in Chapter 5). Such an approach is expected to promote multilingualism and, at the same time, to ensure communication in Europe, a development which this work confirms.



Moreover, the volume *The English Language in Europe*, edited by Reinhard Hartmann (1996), is a work which adds to the enquiry into the language situation in Europe. This book examines the use of English in various domains, such as academia, education and EU administration. It also discusses European bilingualism, diglossia and the adoption of English lexis into European languages. In this assessment, Hartmann (1996:2) concludes that “the future looks as though it belongs to the English language, even though [English] could itself be transformed in the process.” Since Hartmann wrote this in 1996 there have been initiatives made to promote the acceptance of a European variety and the issue of transformation and re-appropriation of English is central to this work.

### 2.4.2 Postcolonial echoes

The discussion about the presence of English in Europe echoes the postcolonial debate over English mentioned above, where the use of English is seen as both a sign of oppression and a means of resistance. Because of the obvious presence of English in Europe, suspicions about the language that are similar to those in the former British colonies can be heard. Although many Europeans accept the practical necessity of English, there is also widespread fear about the damage it might do to other European languages as well as concern that other language speakers might lose power in the face of English. However, the recent linguistic studies discussed below imply that such fears may be uncalled for, as the presence of English does not seem to involve the loss of national languages.

These fears are to some extent based on the fact that, as English is an important language of science and business, of the internet and computer industry and is regularly used in advertising and pop culture, English words are often used in the common discourse of speakers of most (if not all) European languages. Realizing this, Görlach has undertaken an extensive evaluation of English in Europe. This project—which has resulted in the edited collection *English in Europe* (Görlach 2002b), together with its companion volumes the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (Görlach 2002c) and the *Annotated Bibliography of European Anglicisms* (Görlach ed 2002)—records the lexical impact of English on selected European languages. These works analyse the presence of English in sixteen European languages, chart what is called ‘the English invasion’ of national languages in the last five decades and consider the polar and political reaction across Europe to the influx of Anglicisms.

This wealth of English expressions has led to anxieties about the vitality of European languages. According to the Eurobarometer (2001) survey, over 60% of Europeans believe that it is necessary to protect their own languages more as the EU grows. Harriet Sharp (2001:1) reports that in Sweden “many appear to consider the use of English in Swedish discourse as an indication of language decay and its use is generally deplored.” In France, the English language is also perceived to threaten the status of French (see Flaitz 1988). Fear of the presence of English in the German language is also palpable, as can be seen from the fact that a 2002 conference at the Deutsches Haus in New York City was dedicated to examining the precarious future of German in the age of globalization<sup>9</sup>.

Because of this fear of English, several European countries have employed various types of corpus planning to protect their languages from the influence of English. The *Académie française* has made efforts to stop foreign lexical intrusion since 1635, but in the past twenty years English has been perceived as a particular threat to French. In response, terminology committees have been created, legislation has banned the use of foreign words in public contexts, organizations to ensure compliance to laws have been created and the government refuses to subsidize scientific conferences in France which are not conducted in French (Flaitz 1988:111). Iceland also protects its language from ‘linguistic invasion’ and the government appoints ‘word committees’ to create new terms. As one authority reports, “Icelanders don’t mind English; they recognize its usefulness. But they don’t want it to besiege Icelandic” (Anthony 2000). Under similar circumstances, a language purification law was proposed in Germany in 2001. Although it was not passed, it received support from several academics, linguists and politicians, as well as from the general public (This issue will be further discussed in Chapter 5).

The dominance of English has been the source of considerable concern not only for linguistic but also cultural reasons. Some Europeans fear that the spread of English will lead to an erosion of national identities in Europe and the encroachment of a different set of values, primarily those of the US (Berns 1992a:3). In an early study of European attitudes to English, Jeffra Flaitz (1988) surveys perceptions in France and finds that government officials, journalists and academics often equate English with US imperialism and therefore regard the presence of English in France with considerable hostility and suspicion. However, Flaitz’s data suggests that “negative attitudes toward the Anglophone world appear to be harboured primarily among the French power elite”

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<sup>9</sup> See the Future of German website at <<http://www.nyu.edu/deutscheschau/futureofgerman/index.html>> [Accessed 10.04.02].

and “better educated French men and women...did not share the hostility manifested by assorted journalists, academics, and governmental representatives” (Flaitz 1988:186).

In order to further investigate the complexity of English in Europe, several recent studies have been undertaken to compare common perception of English with actual uses of the language. This research has found that the role of English in Europe is not as an aggressor, but as a means of communication and democratization. Such works examine the potential benefit that English as a lingua franca offers Europeans, as it facilitates economic development and adds to the unity of Europe. Contemporary scholars are documenting the ways in which Europeans are appropriating the language and demonstrate how English is being used as an expression of an arising multicultural European or global identity.

For example, the volume *English in Europe* (edited by Jasone Cenoz and Ulrike Jessner 2000) observes the increasing appropriation of English as a lingua franca, which has not halted the growth of multilingualism in Europe. *Language and Nationalism in Europe* (edited by Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael 2000) examines language use in several European nations and concludes that as multilingualism grows “Europeans often have more than one linguistic identity” (Carmichael 2000:286-87). Furthermore, Sue Wright (2000) looks at EU policies that are intended to promote cultural diversity and plurilingualism and considers whether it is possible for a multilingual democracy to exist without a common means of communication. She then suggests that the use of one language for communication is a practical, and perhaps even necessary, means of maintaining democracy in a populace as culturally and linguistically diverse as the EU. As English is already functioning as a European lingua franca, Wright suggests that this is unlikely to change. In line with Wright (2000), de Swaan (2001) argues that barriers of language and culture are an almost insurmountable obstacle to the exchange of opinions among Europeans and English provides an opportunity for communication in Europe, promotes public debate, guarantees cultural diversity and provides career opportunities. In this sense, de Swaan is not against the idea of multilingualism, but he advises the EU to recognize that not all European languages are equal and that English functions as a lingua franca in Europe, so it should be promoted as such.

The spread of English has been particularly noticeable in eastern Europe since the fall of communism. In order to investigate this phenomenon, a conference took place in Warsaw which attempted to capture the current process of globalization, English and language change in Europe: GlobE 2002. The purpose of this conference was to look into the type of language change that

results from globalization and to assess the role of English in the generation and the transmission of Anglo-American cultural values into other languages. While most papers captured some type of linguistic change going on in Europe, there was little evidence given that national languages were in fact threatened by English. Key papers were given by Trudgill (In press), who discussed how, as a reaction to globalization, several groups are attempting to have their dialects redesignated as languages; Joseph (In press), who challenged the assumption that larger languages (especially world languages, and most especially English) are driving smaller ones to extinction; and Wright (2002) who reported on a UNESCO project which is inspecting possible language change as a result of internet use. Other papers explored the role of English in various European countries, such as Norway, Sweden, Germany, Poland, the Ukraine, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Russia and Cyprus.

The presence of English in individual European languages has also resulted in an upsurge of projects which attempt to understand this development and to give an informed assessment of the implications of the widespread use of English in Europe. In Norway there is research underway which investigates the Norwegian language in close contact with English. Endre Brunstad at the University of Bergen is currently analysing how English is used by three Norwegian subcultures with Anglo-American orientation: the New Age community, the computer industry and the drugs-oriented teenage scene. He is inspecting English borrowings and code-switching between Norwegian and English to see how they express both modern phenomena of individualism and at the same time belonging to a global culture<sup>10</sup>.

In Germany, Juliane House is currently conducting a project at the Universität Hamburg that measures the influence of English as a lingua franca on German textual norms. She has analysed texts from three different genres (software manuals, globalized economic texts and popular science texts), which have been translated from English to German. Her intention in doing this is to find whether the influence of English has a 'hidden' influence on German—whether it is changing the syntax of the language. So far, House (2003:566) has concluded that there is no significant norm change within these discourse types in German and thus argues against the assumption that the use of English in the world is a threat to multilingualism<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> For more on this project, see the New Norwegian website at <<http://www.hf.uib.no/dnn/English.html>> [Accessed 12.11.03].

<sup>11</sup> For more on this, see the Covert Translation website at <<http://www.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/SFB538/forschung/kommunikation/k4.html>> [Accessed 12.11.03].



Still another research project at the University of Jyväskylä—English voices in Finnish society<sup>12</sup>—is exploring how English is becoming a second language in Finland. The project is designed to test whether increased English use is leading to changes in the functional range and mutual status of English and Finnish. The researchers involved combine approaches from sociolinguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis to inspect the ways in which English is used and the ways in which it comes into contact with Finnish in the media, education and professional life. As part of this project, I collaborated with Sirpa Leppänen, Arja Piirainen-Marsh and Tarja Nikula in a colloquium at the 2002 conference of the British Association of Applied Linguistics in Cardiff. After comparing uses of English in Finland and Germany, we found that the uses and functions of English in Europe are more diverse than those traditionally associated with EFL countries. Our combined results show how English is used as one resource alongside national languages, how it is mixed with Finnish and German in a variety of ways and how it can have heterogeneous functions and meanings in various domains. Our data suggests that a new kind of model that accounts for both the lingua franca and local functions of English is now needed to describe the complex changes in English which are on-going in the European context. This work attempts to carry out this search for an appropriate model to account for English use in Europe.

#### **2.4.3 Proposals for a European variety of English**

Just as in postcolonial regions, one answer to the dilemma of English linguistic dominance or imperialism in Europe is to assert linguistic independence and recognize and then codify an autonomous variety of European English. Furthermore, the theoretical and empirical research developed for the postcolonial context has proven to be relevant for English in Europe. As English is an international language that no longer belongs solely to its native speakers (Widdowson 1994), many scholars argue that a European English variety should increasingly look to continental Europe rather than to Britain or the US for its norms of correctness and appropriateness. Such a change in standards would also address the fact that although English functions differently in every European country, Europeans share many common experiences in their histories of English learning and use: for example, comparable patterns of acquisition of English, similar opportunities for exposure to English, and interaction with both native and nonnative speakers. A European English would also provide a common identity for multicultural and multilingual Europe. Marko Modiano (1999a; 2000; 2001), Jennifer Jenkins (2000; 2001; 2002) and Barbara Seidlhofer (1999; 2001a; 2002b) therefore promote a type of English that

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<sup>12</sup> For more on this project, see the Finnish Voices website at <http://www.jyu.fi/tdk/hum/englanti/EnglishVoices/index.htm> [Accessed 12.11.03].



would function as the lingua franca of Europe without its learners having to adopt native speaker norms. This ideology entails that the EFL speech community should no longer be 'norm-dependent' but 'norm-developing' and ultimately 'norm-providing'. Seidlhofer (1999:239), a central proponent of such efforts, remarks that "a lively interest is arising in describing nonnative varieties of English and in drawing on these descriptions for a more realistic methodology of English teaching in Europe."

In response to the many pleas for a European English, the need for a broad empirical base has arisen and is currently being met. Seidlhofer is collecting empirical data which records how English is used as a lingua franca in Europe. She is attempting to codify lingua franca English with the objective of making it an acceptable and respected alternative to native English. Her project, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE), has been proposed to analyse communication among fairly fluent speakers from a wide range of first language backgrounds whose primary and secondary education and socialization did not take place in English. No native speakers are involved. With this project, Seidlhofer (2001b:211) hopes to establish "what (if anything), notwithstanding all the diversity, emerges as common features of ELF use, irrespective of speakers' first languages and levels of proficiency." The preliminary findings of this study show that "typical learners' errors which most English teachers would consider in urgent need of correction and remediation, and which consequently often get allotted a great deal of time and effort in EFL lessons, appear to be generally unproblematic in ELF talk, and no obstacle to communicative success" (Seidlhofer 2001b:212).

Another project inspecting the use of English as a lingua franca in Europe is being undertaken by Allan James. The project English as a Lingua Franca in the Alpine-Adriatic Region, still in its pilot phase, focuses on ultimately producing a corpus of the English in this region. James is analysing the linguistic exchanges between speakers of German, Italian, Slovene and Friulian who often use English as a general lingua franca due to the gradual intensification of cross-border contacts of all kinds (James 2000:36).

A similar project is making empirical investigations into the characteristics of English lingua franca use in Switzerland. Scholars at the University of Fribourg and the University of Bern are examining the linguistic characteristics of English in multilingual Switzerland to see whether a distinctive endonormative variety, which they call Pan Swiss English (PSE), is emerging

(Durham 2003b). This project<sup>13</sup> examines data collected from meetings, discussions and email exchanges in which English was used as a lingua franca. The objective of the study is to find out whether lexical, morphological and syntactic structures are used differently in PSE than in standard, native English. So far the study has found that there are aspects that differ from L1 English in the discourse of all three of the language groups that were analysed (German, French and Italian speakers) and these are the features that they suggest may be regularizing in L2 English.

Such projects as the ones in Austria, Finland, Germany, Norway and Switzerland are bound to affect the way that English is being taught in Europe. These studies, taken together with the pedagogical platforms of scholars such as Pennycook, suggest that European users of English should assert their ownership of English. The language should be taught as a means of empowerment in Europe—as an extension of European identities and as a means of access to the global community. Such suggestions raise questions about what teaching standards are appropriate to follow while teaching sophisticated users of English as a lingua franca. The suggestion that a nativized variety of European English is taking shape requires pedagogical modifications in the teaching of English in Europe, some of which I will advocate in this work.

## **2.5 Globalization and the German university classroom: Local investigation**

As can be seen above, the spread of English has particularly affected linguistic communities in Europe, including Germany. English has long been learned and used as a foreign language in Germany<sup>14</sup>, but, as in the rest of Europe, the presence of English has noticeably increased since World War II. Several studies have focused on this prominent presence of English.

For instance, Norman Denison (1981) was one of the first to forecast the growing importance of English within Europe and draw comparisons between Germany and ex-colonial territories in which English functions as a second language. Later works by Margie Berns (1988) and Wolfgang Viereck (1996) examine the number of English borrowings used in contemporary German, the use of English in the job market and in academic publishing and the teaching of English in the German education system. Other works have concentrated on the increase of

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<sup>13</sup> “Language Contact and Focussing: The Linguistics of English in Switzerland,” a research project funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. Project coordinators are Peter Trudgill, University of Fribourg; Richard J. Watts, University of Bern; and David Allerton, University of Basel. Research assistants are Yvonne Dröschel, University of Fribourg; Mercedes Durham, University of Fribourg; and Lukas Rosenberger, University of Bern.

<sup>14</sup> For a thorough history of English in Germany, see Hilgendorf (2001).

English in specific domains of use in Germany. Berns (1992b), for example, traces the use of English in German legal domains and presents an emerging picture of German bilingualism with English as the other tongue. Ulrich Ammon (1991a; 1998; 2001) records the use of English as the language of science in Germany and attributes the decline of German as an international language of science to the rise of English. Uta Thürmer (1997) examines English language education in eastern Germany since reunification to show that the presence of English in the school curriculum is rising to match that of the western half of the country. Thürmer's assessment of eastern Germany gives insight into the increasing use of English in Germany, data that is useful to understand the educational system that some of the current study's subjects have experienced. Gnutzmann (1999a) assesses the current role of English language teaching in Germany and, in view of the widespread presence of English, asks whether a native speaker model is still an acceptable goal in the age of globalization. This question is also a central focus of my work, which questions the use of clinging to pedagogical models based on native-speaker norms at a time when English users assert ownership in the language in many domains outside the language classroom.

While the present study will also be a contribution to the assessment of English in Germany, it will not venture to attempt a comprehensive national study of the use of English. This has not been undertaken for two reasons. First of all, scholars like Suzanne K. Hilgendorf (2001) have successfully catalogued the increasing uses of English in Germany and demonstrated that English has achieved a significant range and depth in terms of its functions. My study builds on and complements her work, but it has not been carried out with the same national perspective. Secondly, in the age of globalization and Europeanization it is essential to move away from strictly national case studies. As has been revealed, the dynamics of globalization extend far beyond the borders of the nation. Europe is becoming an increasingly borderless political unit, so national boundaries have less impact on linguistic matters in the sense that information exchange has been made much more accessible, so that Europe has become known as a "Sprachraum ohne Grenzen"<sup>15</sup> (Heithoff 2001:35).

Still it must be recognized that although both globalization and Europeanization have been shown to weaken the nation-state as an economic and political entity, it "clearly continues to exert significant influence in many areas of its inhabitants' experience, including their experience as users and learners of languages" (Block and Cameron 2002:6). Therefore, this study will partially

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<sup>15</sup> A language area without borders.

have a national perspective, as it will examine students in educational institutions that are state run, but it will also have a broader view, as German universities are strongly influenced by European measures and global trends. This analysis will focus on the domain of the university classroom, which is at once a local setting in Berlin, and also shaped by both national and European policies. Moreover, the German university classroom is made up of international students participating in supranational academic discourse.

## 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter is an attempt to capture the current state of the discussion about globalization in the social sciences. Here I find that globalization, while still a nebulous phenomenon with unclear outcomes, is a process that

- is not necessarily new, although the stage of globalization that is currently taking place is marked by significant changes due to technological, economic and political developments.
- can, but does not have to, entail the dominance of one economic power over the other. Moreover, wherever this power is extended, resistance to it arises.
- may involve a certain amount of homogenization but also always results in localization and appropriation.
- involves a decreasing importance of borders and an increasing need for communication.

This chapter establishes that the spread of English has been incited by globalization, just as globalization has been permitted by the spread of English. This spread has involved the growth of linguistic accounts of English and a shift in the rhetoric due to the large number of voices in English. Therefore, this chapter explores the role of English in the postcolonial context where English was seen as both a remnant of oppression and a means of resistance and development.

This discussion was then extended to the field of applied linguistics, where the spread of English has spawned a debate about whether the spread and teaching of English necessarily involves 'linguistic imperialism' (Phillipson 1992). Several linguists reject this notion because the theory defies empirical investigation, it assumes the existence of a global hegemonic structure driving English, it does not take into account the imperialism of other languages and it does not account for the agency of those acquiring the language. However, the introduction of this theory has resulted in a new strain of linguistic investigation. Moreover, the discussion about linguistic





imperialism has resulted in several changes in the methods and terminology employed in applied linguistics and thus the teaching of English as a global language.

After an exploration of the major effects of globalization on the field of applied linguistics, this chapter examines the role of globalization and the spread of English in Europe. The discussions about English in Europe are reminiscent of those in the postcolonial context where there has been conflicting discourse about the hegemony or usefulness of the presence of English. While some fear that English is encroaching on national languages, others see the potential of English as a lingua franca that provides for a means of democratic communication. However, many scholars suggest that English in Europe should be European in nature and not based on British and American norms for the language; therefore, Europeans should appropriate the language for their own purposes and appropriate their own European standards for language use. In Europe, where social and linguistic practices are changing as a result of globalization, these changes must be accounted for in language education.

This chapter demonstrates the effects of globalization in the world, in Europe and on the field of applied linguistics. However, the global spread of English and the corresponding shift in focus of applied linguistic research have resulted in confusion about what to teach, how to define English and how to set pedagogical goals. While it has become clear that English is no longer the property of its native speakers, there is ambiguity about what is meant by English in the discourse of globalization. If English is the property of all of its users, who defines its standards and which norms should be followed in the multiple contexts where English is taught? These are questions which will be addressed in the following chapter, which attempts to come to a consensus in the confusion of discourse about English within applied linguistics.

This chapter also reveals that while several theorists attempt to define globalization, these theories cannot account for global and local developments that intermingle to produce various effects. For that reason, individual case studies must be used to assess the individual contexts where English is used and taught. This approach can also shed light on how to provide an appropriate pedagogical model for English. It is for this reason that, after clarifying the terms used in this work, I will establish a particular context from which globalization and the spread of English can be viewed. Here it will become clear that globalization and the expansion of English are challenging the English teaching capacity at this particular university and, I assume, most English departments around the world.



## THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION ON ELT: A PLETHORA OF ENGLISHES

### 3.1 The effects of globalization on ELT

The purpose of the previous chapter was to examine the current literature regarding globalization and to summarize the description of the spread of English as its accompaniment. The extensive spread of the English language has been ascribed to processes of globalization which developed after World War II and to the (re-)distribution of the language in the postcolonial context. An understanding of these events is essential for a satisfactory understanding of the shift in the conception of the language in the academic disciplines, particularly in the field of applied linguistics. Debates about the role of linguistic imperialism in English language teaching still have not been completely resolved. Moreover, the field of ELT has been greatly changed by increasing academic recognition of postcolonial varieties of English and emphasis on the importance of English as a tool of resistance. This change is reflected in the fact that the concept of the English language as such has been questioned and several scholars have suggested shifts in terminology and usage in response to this. As a result, problems have arisen about how to best describe the current state of the English language and educators have become concerned about what variety should be taught. Therefore, this chapter will review the shifting perception of the English language and will move towards establishing consensus about what is meant by the word 'English' in the age of globalization.

### 3.2 Changing perceptions of English

The immense amount of variation in English use around the world that has been documented, as well as the sensitive issue of the spread of English being tantamount to linguistic imperialism, have posed several ideological difficulties for the English teaching industry, as can be seen in the following statement. Robert Holland (2002:21), who is obviously ill at ease with the English teaching industry, reports that in the applied linguistics of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, "it is no longer admissible simply to accept as a given the status of English as prime international tongue: a critical appreciation of its role, and a critical approach to English-language pedagogy, are indispensable." This quote aptly expresses how the perception of English has changed in tandem with growing awareness about globalization. The following will survey some of the major works that brought on these changes in the pedagogical platform for global ELT.

The recognition of other varieties of English in the postcolonial context as well as the continuing spread of English have encouraged an applied linguistic approach to English that accounts for its multiple uses in the world. Varieties of English are no longer seen as variants on a central linguistic monolith. The results of this shift in perspective can be clearly recognized in the following quotes:

- “The closing decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century marked a major change in the worldwide perception of English” (McArthur 2001a:7).
- “The meaning of English has changed” because it is a “transnational or international medium for the great majority of users” and “its national users are the exception rather than the rule” (Bowers 1999:243).
- “There is no English language anymore...the English language that we think of as a global thing is something totally different” (Cox in an interview with Dale and Robertson 2003:16-17).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, it was in the 1980s that academic attention was first paid to the global reach of English. Linguistic scholarship that traced the many countries and domains in which English was used helped to form the idea that English is a global language with global ownership (e.g. Fishman, Cooper and Conrad 1977; Platt, Weber and Ho 1984; Pride 1982). It was because of such studies that Stevens asks “Whose language is it anyway?” In a paper addressing this question, he argues that “English belongs to everyone who wants or needs it, and that it belongs exclusively to no nation, no community, no individual” (Stevens 1982:427).

Another landmark article which added to the changing perception of English is Widdowson’s (1994) “The Ownership of English.” In this text, Widdowson questions the authority of L1 English speakers to set the language’s conventions. As English is an international language that serves a whole range of different communities and transcends traditional cultural boundaries, it is no longer the preserve of native speaker. Moreover, Widdowson promotes the acceptance of localized varieties of English and opposes discrimination against nonnative teachers. He also argues that it is neither realistic nor necessary to force learners to conform to a native variety.

Pennycook (1994) also played an important role in the shifting perception of the English language, as he argues that the discourse on English as a global language has become detached from its contexts of imperialism and hegemony. Furthermore, he questions the view that the spread of

English was “natural, neutral and beneficial” (6) and emphasizes that English is “bound up in a wealth of local social, cultural, economic and political complexities” (7). Pennycook suggests that users of English combat the imperial dominance of English by appropriating the language for their own purposes.

### 3.3 English renamed

The recognition that English is no longer the property of its L1 speakers and that the language is also tied to its imperial past also brought on a shift in terminology in the field. As the label ‘English’ was perceived to be an adjective that described the national language of Britain and evoked memories of the British colonial past, it was consequently perceived as too narrow a categorization for a postcolonial, global language. This is why Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1989:8) in their book *The Empire Writes Back* mark the difference between English as a national language and English as a world language. They explain that they use an uncapitalized form in order “to distinguish between what is proposed as a standard code, English (the language of the erstwhile imperial centre), and the linguistic code, english, which has been transformed and subverted into several distinctive varieties throughout the world.”

In an effort to provide a more accurate descriptor of English in the world, numerous ELT specialists have suggested a change in the name for the English language. In the following, I will survey the rather vast range of labels, definitions and ideologies that have been put forward by prominent linguists who have tried to characterize the global use of English in a contemporary context. The terms considered below encompass a wide range of meanings: the multiple varieties of English spoken in different parts of the world, a form of English which provides the common core to all the world’s varieties, or the kind of English used as a lingua franca for communicating across cultures. What the terms have in common is that they all attempt to describe a use of English that has developed since the mid- to late-20<sup>th</sup> century, the period of time associated with an increasing awareness of globalization. However, there is no consensus as to how to describe the current phase of the English language nor about a term to describe it.

The following labels have all been used to describe the global use of English: New English(es), Nuclear English, International English, World English(es), Global English, General English, Literate English, among others. Suzanne Romaine (1997:x) points out that “native speaker English is usually simply referred to as English in the singular, unmarked and unqualified. It is other varieties which require a special name.” Thus most of these labels have arisen to describe

the use of English among nonnative speakers. Different orthographies are used when employing these labels: Sometimes the adjectives describing English are capitalized, sometimes they are not and sometimes they are enclosed in inverted commas. Bex and Watts (1999:9) distinguish between the use of capitals to describe a subvariety of English and inverted commas to signify a social myth constructed for ideological purposes. In cases where the creator of the term has used a label for English and capitalized it, I have followed this orthography. However, in my own use of terms like global, international or world English, I have left these adjectives in lower case, as I do not consider them to be subvarieties of the language but adjectives which describe a domain of use.

Due to the plethora of terminology and the variance in its use, it has become difficult to discuss the language which is at once a national and/or official language of various countries, a language taught in most of the world's education systems and an important global lingua franca used in several domains. English, due to its multiple spoken varieties and the fact that it functions as a global, written standard, has become increasingly difficult to classify and label. It is for this reason that this chapter will sort out some of the commonalities among the proposed terms. I will then investigate why this English-naming-mania has occurred. By analysing the contemporary discourse surrounding English, I hope to simultaneously establish some consensus in the field of applied linguistics and clarify the terminology used in this work.

### **3.3.1 Englishes/New Englishes/World Englishes**

#### **3.3.1.1 Englishes**

The term Englishes was first used extensively in the 1980s with the emergence of Kachru's pluralistic conception of English. This term refers to all varieties of English collectively. Kachru (1997a:212) argues that "the term symbolizes the functional and formal variations, divergent sociolinguistic contexts, ranges and varieties of English in creativity, and various types of acculturation in parts of the Western and non-Western world." He also insists that this term most succinctly and accurately characterizes the many global functions of English.

#### **3.3.1.2 New Englishes**

The label New Englishes generally refers to emerging and increasingly autonomous varieties of English, especially in non-Western, former colonial settings such as India, Nigeria or Singapore (McArthur 1992:688). According to Platt, Weber and Ho (1984:2-3), a New English is a variety developed through an education system where English is a medium of instruction but it is not the



main language spoken by most of the population. Additionally, a New English is used for a broad range of varied functions (in literature, government, the media, or as a lingua franca among those speaking different languages). Moreover, it has become 'nativized' by its users who have adopted some linguistic features which vary from British or American norms, such as varying pronunciation and intonation patterns; a slight difference in grammar and sentence structure; and, most noticeably, different words and expressions, which include borrowings from contact languages. Some of the first linguists to record New Englishes were Akere (1982), Bamgbose (1982) and Jibril (1982) in Nigeria; Kachru (1966; 1976), Das (1982) and Mehrotra (1982) in India; Crewe (1977) Platt (1975) and Richards (1982) in Singapore; and Craig (1982) and Haynes (1982) in the Caribbean<sup>1</sup>. Many of these scholars have proposed that New Englishes be recognized, codified and in some cases taught as varieties in their own right, as "a New English can provide a background and an identity for its speakers which an 'alien' English, 'something from abroad', never could" (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984:201). These individual declarations of linguistic independence in English, sometimes compared to the process of establishing American English in the US (e.g. Kachru 1981), have resulted in an impassioned discussion about international standards and pedagogical models for English.

### 3.3.1.3 World Englishes

The term World Englishes has been in use since the early 1980s in direct relation to the journal *World Englishes: The Journal of English as an International and Intranational Language (WE)*, edited by Kachru and Smith. The label world Englishes entails a wide conception of English and includes places outside postcolonial regions<sup>2</sup>. The use of the term world Englishes implies not only awareness of the multiple varieties of English in the world, but also of the fact that all varieties of English, native and nonnative, "belong equally to all who use them and merit serious and consistent study both individually and collectively" (McArthur 1998:61). This label has gained popularity as the journal *WE* continues to thrive and as Kachru's conception of world Englishes is increasingly recognized. Kachru's approach to the global use of English will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

<sup>1</sup> This is neither a comprehensive list of linguists who have researched New Englishes nor an overall assessment of the contexts where New Englishes have developed.

<sup>2</sup> For a thorough explanation of world Englishes and references to each of its aspects, see Kachru (1992b; 1997a).



### 3.3.2 Nuclear English

The growing recognition of global varieties of English caused problems in the realm of ELT. For example, Quirk became concerned about the diversification of varieties of English and loss of intercomprehensibility in the face of the use of English internationally (which will be discussed later in this chapter). He feared that English would face the same fate as Latin:

The fate of Latin after the fall of the Roman Empire presents us with such distinct languages today as French, Spanish, Romanian, and Italian. With the growth of national separatism in the English-speaking countries, linguistically endorsed not least by the active encouragement of the anti-standard ethos..., many foresee a similar fissiparous future for English (Quirk 1985:3).

As a reaction to the international variability within English, Quirk proposed a simplified variety called ‘Nuclear English,’ a core form of English structure and vocabulary, not dissimilar to Ogden and Richard’s plan for Basic English<sup>3</sup>. This form of English eliminates features that he considers ‘dispensable’ in the sense that the language has alternative means to express them. Quirk argues that when all such options are removed, in both grammar and vocabulary, only the obligatory minimum of the language—its communicative ‘nucleus’—remains.

In addition to the decay of English, Quirk was also apprehensive about the colonial spread of British or American culture with the English language; therefore, Nuclear English was designed to be as “culture-free as calculus” with no literary, aesthetic, or emotional aspirations (Quirk 1982:43). Convinced of the neutrality of this variety, Quirk (1982:44) argues that Nuclear English is “more free” than British or American English of linguistic imperialism and that it confronts any suspicion that using this language puts some countries at an advantage over others since L1 speakers of English would also have to be trained to use it.

Quirk’s other major concern for the English language was a concern about the difficulties of teaching it, especially on a mass scale, to the level required for international usefulness. In order to be successful and to satisfy the relevant needs of international users, he surmised that Nuclear English would be easier to learn than any variety of ‘full’ English and it would also be capable of being developed into an ‘expanded’ form.

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<sup>3</sup> Due to space limitations, a discussion of Ogden and Richard’s Basic English will not be included here, although it is not entirely irrelevant. Projects for simplifying the English language in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century certainly played an important role in forming the ideas for contemporary proposals for English as an international language (cf. Seidlhofer 2002a; Simpson 1998).

Although Quirk's ideas for Nuclear English gained some attention for a while, he seems to have abandoned the project. One reason may be that he had no means of implementing it. Another difficulty lay in deciding what to put into the core of English; many of the features that Quirk considered 'dispensable' were things that learners may have already learned from the regular presence of English in society, e.g. in music, advertising, etc. It may also be, as Smith (1983:vi) suggests, that most scholars felt that English could not be controlled and contained in the way Quirk proposed and that it was not desirable to reduce international communication to a limited range of vocabulary and minimalist patterns of grammar. Following a similar logic, Jenkins (1998) argues that this approach fails to take account of the fact that language development generally proceeds in an unplanned and natural, bottom-up manner instead of being imposed from above. Moreover, McArthur (2003:55) attributes the failure of such projects to the following:

A world lingua franca cannot be legislated for, because the world has never had a mechanism for such legislation; instead, such a language arises out of historical circumstance. Furthermore, a world lingua franca cannot be invented and then spread by people of good will, however dedicated they may be, as the fate of Ludwig Zamenhof's Esperanto has shown. Indeed it cannot even be achieved by simplifying a given world language like English itself, as was shown by the fate of Ogden and Richard's Basic English between the 1920s and 1940s, despite initial successes.

An additional reason for the abandonment of Nuclear English may be that Quirk's proposal provoked much critique and discussion in the 1980s, resulting in a battle of articles in the journal *English Today*. Kachru's conception of Englishes opposes Quirk's linguistic and pedagogic ideology for English. While Kachru supports the recognition of diverse regional varieties of English, Quirk fears that, under such circumstances, English will fragment into many mutually unintelligible local forms and therefore no longer be able to serve as an international lingua franca. In addition, Kachru promotes the acceptance of linguistic norms of other Englishes as institutionalized educational varieties, but Quirk is against the view that nonnative Englishes can be used as models for teaching. In his opinion, learners of English need a standard native variety in order to monitor their progress.

This dilemma, which has been dubbed the Quirk/Kachru debate<sup>4</sup>, has been one of the major preoccupations of English language studies in the last twenty years. In fact, the proposals made by the various scholars discussed below can, to a certain extent, be seen as attempts to mediate this in order to address the rights of English speakers to express their individual identities through English while also remaining internationally comprehensible.

### 3.3.3 International English

One term that has dominated much of the literature about the global spread of English is international English (IE), which, McArthur (2001:6) notes, dates in print from around 1980. This label has been used in several different, even contradictory, ways.

In its first sense, IE can have a very limited connotation, as a kind of English for specific purposes (ESP), or a register of English. It concerns the kind of English used as a lingua franca for communicating basic information in a simple manner, often in a particular context, like the business environment. An example of one such conception is given by Robert Johnson (1990), who maintains that IE refers only to functions of English as it is used in certain contexts, not to any given form of the language. For him, IE is a register of English used by people who need access to international scholarship, policy-making and administrative bodies, commerce and technology and who do not use English as a community or national language. In his opinion, IE is learned through formal education without reinforcement outside the classroom and it has no native speakers. He also argues that IE is not defined by a geographical space or a territorial border. It is a variety whose users are not bound by political or cultural ties but by the domain of a certain occupation or functional application (Johnson 1990:304).

With a similar line of reasoning to Johnson's, Widdowson (1997) argues that IE (or, as he terms it, English as an international language) is a register of English: the specific use that is made of the language for international, professional and academic purposes, which is mostly carried out in the written language. In so arguing, Widdowson attempts to address the international 'ownership' of English. Since "registers relate to domains of use, to areas of knowledge and expertise which cross national boundaries and are global of their very nature" (Widdowson 1997:143), international English is a "composite lingua franca which is free of any specific allegiance to any primary variety of the language" (Widdowson 1998:400).

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<sup>4</sup> See *English Today's* October 2000 thematic subject index for 1985-99.

Although these descriptions help us to understand the way English can be used internationally, Johnson's and Widdowson's classifications of IE as a register stop a long way short of giving an accurate description of present-day global uses of English. Smith (1983:vi) explicitly states that international English "cannot be reduced to the limited range and patterns of communication which are characteristic of ESP; neither can it be seen as the sum of all kinds of ESP, since it is a language, not a corpus." Furthermore, English is used internationally for much more than specific, professional purposes. It is also not restricted to written communication, as registers traditionally have been. Therefore, as Brutt-Griffler (1998:389) appropriately notes in a response to Widdowson, the classification of IE as a register "seems to be an unjustified restriction on English use, one which also flies in the face of global practice." An accurate conception of English in the world should allow for the complex uses of the language as it is used by native- and nonnative-speaking communities alike, for both formal and informal purposes—indeed for all the purposes to which a language may be put.

In another conception of IE that differs quite markedly from Johnson's and Widdowson's, the label IE is used to refer to the core of English vocabulary and grammar common to all the different Englishes spoken around the world. Nigel Ross (1997:29) sees IE as "a form of English which, although not actually spoken by anyone, provides the common core to all the world's varieties of English." This sense of IE is similar to the idea of standard English, which is generally conceived as "a particular dialect of English, being the only non-localized dialect, of global currency without significant variation, universally accepted as the appropriate educational target in teaching English; which may be spoken with an unrestricted choice of accent" (Stevens 1983:88).

Despite the common use of this term to describe standard English, McArthur (2001b:5) points out that the perception of IE as a world standard language is fading away and that the term "seems nowadays to refer to all English everywhere and no longer significantly to a prestigious standardised, and universalised part of the language." This is the approach that Davies (1989) takes in his definition of IE. He describes IE as a meta-classification which includes all uses and users of English for international purposes, from reduced codes to standard educated written English used in both native and nonnative contexts:

The range of International English is so wide that it has to be thought of as a continuum, from the fluent written and spoken English of (educated) L1 users to the pidgins and

creoles of West Africa and elsewhere and the specially reduced codes for air traffic control (Airspeak) and ship handling (Seaspeak) (Davies 1989:456-57).

In Davies' sense, IE is a supervariety of English that includes all varieties of British and American English, standard written English, all the varieties of New Englishes, such as Nigerian English and Singaporean English, and English used as a lingua franca among L2 speakers.

### 3.3.4 World English

Although the term IE was once in common use, not all scholars promote the use of the adjective international to describe the current state of English, partially because it means different things to different people. Kachru (1997a:216) argues that the term is misleading because it implies that there is an international variety of English that has been codified, accepted and taught around the world, which is far from the case. He also opposes the term 'international' because it is often used inaccurately, not in reference to the world but only to "America, Britain and Australia" (Kachru 1997b:70). This discrepancy has led to the current preference for the terms world English and global English.

World English is the oldest of the universalizing terms, dating back from at least the 1920s (McArthur 2001b:3). While this term is sometimes preferred because "it explicitly acknowledges—or asserts—the planetary reach of the language" (McArthur 1998:86), it has also been seen to strike cords as "a pernicious example of linguistic or cultural imperialism" (Skinner 1998:6): "Some scholars use the term cautiously or avoid it, because for them it suggests a global dominance by English and English-speaking countries, with an attendant down-grading of other languages" (McArthur 1992:1128). Despite this, the term world English seems to be preferred by many authors and publishers, as shown by several recent works (e.g. Brutt-Griffler 2002; McArthur 2002).

For reasons left unexplained World English is the term chosen by Brutt-Griffler (2002) in her book *World English: A Study of Its Development*, a recent work that is bound to have lasting significance. Brutt-Griffler puts forward a conception of English that addresses its complexity by combining linguistic issues with a historical and sociopolitical survey of factors that have contributed to the establishment of English as a world language (see further Erling 2002). With this history in mind, Brutt-Griffler scopes out four features of World English: the economic and commercial dominance of English and its cultural/intellectual role in the global community; the



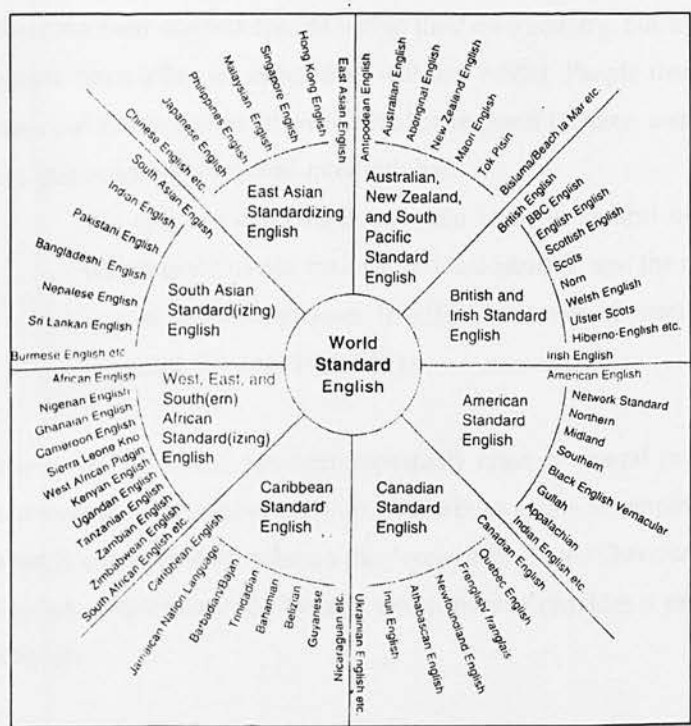
use of English as not only an elite lingua franca, but also as a means of empowerment and resistance; the language change which has accompanied the spread of English and created new varieties in English; and stabilized bilingualism. Moreover, Brutt-Griffler (2002:ix) claims that World English is not a new language, but a *phase* in the history of the English language—"the phase in which most of its speakers do not belong to a dominant national speech community or even a few mother tongue speech communities. Instead, it is the historical phase in which the vast majority of English speakers belong to bilingual speech communities."

### 3.3.5 World Standard (Spoken) English

In his model of English as a medium of both individual and international communication, McArthur (1987) conceives of English as a wheel with a hub, spokes and rim; he calls the hub 'World Standard English' (WSE). This central core consists of an internationally comprehensible variety, those features of the language that are common to all varieties of English. As one moves away from the centre, the varieties become more localized, moving from national to regional varieties of English. McArthur (1998:95, his italics) explains that this hub is surrounded by

an encircling band of regional varieties, such as the standard and other forms of *African English*, *American English*, *Canadian English* and *Irish English*. Beyond these, but linked to them by spokes marking off eight regions of the world, is a crowded (even riotous) fringe of subvarieties such as *Aboriginal English*, *Black English Vernacular*, *Gullah*, *Jamaican National Language*, *Krio*, *Singapore English*, and *Ulster Scots*.

Figure 3.1: McArthur's model of World Standard English<sup>5</sup>



(From McArthur 1987:11)

Since the appearance of McArthur’s model, Crystal has regularly used it to describe what he sees as an emerging international form of English. Crystal added the adjective ‘spoken’ to McArthur’s classification to produce World Standard Spoken English (WSSE): a rather formal variety of spoken English that is used in international contexts. He conceives of WSSE as the core of English grammar, vocabulary and orthography in widespread use and suggests that its use requires that the speaker consciously avoid words, phrases, grammatical constructions and/or pronunciation which will not be understood in an international context. Crystal claims that the use of WSSE will avoid breakdowns in communication due to differences in idiom, vocabulary or grammar. It is a variety of English that transcends regional differences and guarantees intelligibility when people from different English-speaking parts of the world communicate with each other.

<sup>5</sup> This model first appeared in McArthur (1987) and was then reprinted in Crystal (1995:111). Since then it has appeared in several texts about the English language and is often falsely attributed to Crystal. I would like to thank Tom McArthur for ensuring that I not perpetuate this oversight.

Crystal (1988; 1997) predicts that in the future, speakers will simply extend their usage in order to meet the demands of the international situation. Thus, in his opinion, L1 English speakers will still have their dialects for use within their own country, but when they need to communicate with people from other countries they will use WSSE. People then will have a dialect in which they can continue to express their national or regional identity, and they will also have a dialect which can guarantee international intelligibility:

We may, in due course, all need to be in control of two standard Englishes—the one which gives us our national or local identity, and the one which puts us in touch with the rest of the human race. In effect, we may all need to become bilingual in our own language (Crystal 1988:265).

The model of WSSE has been repeatedly cited in several recent studies on English. Despite its common use, there have been no measures to create an empirical corpus of WSSE or to describe what is considered to make up this ‘core of English’. Therefore, while it offers a theory of global English, McArthur and Crystal’s model neither provides a practicable nor a teachable corpus of English.

### 3.3.6 Global English

The evolution of the term global English can be attributed to the amount of academic attention paid to the process of globalization from the late 1990s. The word ‘globalization’ has gained popularity as a new buzz word, or “everyone’s favourite catchphrase” (Robertson 2003:3), which expresses several contemporary developments in the world. Roland Robertson (1992) argues that the term itself has become a part of global consciousness, while Zygmunt Bauman (1998:1) states that it is “a fad word fast turning into a shibboleth.” Bernd Wagner (2001) claims that the adjective global is a ‘meta-category’ which has been used to explain almost everything in contemporary life. Robert Wilk (1998) has collected examples of the recurrent use of the term and argues that “everything today is becoming ‘global’”; it is now a contemporary keyword in both business and academia.

The popularity of the word ‘global’ can also be seen within the field of linguistics. References to global English can be seen in the titles of many contemporary linguistic works, such as David Simpson’s (1998) “Prospects for Global English”, Richard Alexander’s (1999) “Caught in a Global English trap, or liberated by a lingua franca?”, Barbara Seidlhofer’s (2001b) “‘Global English’ and applied linguistics” and John E. Joseph’s (In press) “Linguistic identity and the

limits of Global English.” Although the term ‘global English’ is in common use, the concept is often accepted as a given and no precise definition of the concept is provided. I will thus summarize its various meanings.

Although it is used similarly to the terms international or world English, the term global English makes reference to globalization and therefore global English is often presented as the language which accompanies this process. Raley (1998) states that the term ‘global English’ indicates the use of English everywhere, in whatever form, by both native-speakers and nonnative speakers. And this seems to be the way in which many scholars use the term: Global English simply refers to the use of the language worldwide and not necessarily a specific linguistic form of English. The use of this term also seems to carry with it the aspiration that all language speakers from around the world will someday understand each other through the use of global English.

Gnutzmann (1999a:158) sees global English as the English language used in situations that depend on the relationship between speaker and hearer, the time and place of communication and the purpose and topic of communication. Yasukata Yano (2001:129) adds that the use of global English implies that all participants disregard minor difference in their speech and accommodate “any varieties of English as far as they are comprehensible to the educated speakers of other varieties.” These scholars imply that global English is the English language used in any international context where speakers (of perhaps several different L1s) use the language to understand each other and they are not overly critical of linguistic imperfection in English because of an interest in communication. Such implications suggest that global English is an attitude and not a linguistic entity, an idea I share.

### **3.3.6.1 Global**

Michael Toolan (1997:7) uses the term Global, and not global English, to refer to the English used worldwide in public roles, by people of any ethnicity in any type of international setting—in airports, business meetings, trade fairs and medical conferences around the world. In his view, Global is an English emerging to serve as the default medium in cross-national discourse between professionals. Toolan argues that due to the spread of English and changing attitudes to New Englishes, British and American authority over the language is decreasing. Therefore, international users are claiming ownership of English, and the language is being “increasingly released from a sense of rooted-ness in one or more ethnic homelands” (Toolan 1997:7). This is why he pleads for new terminology to more appropriately express the use of English in the world.

Toolan (1997:7) also asserts that Global is a variety that even L1 speakers of English have to acquire, so that they “accommodate their speech so as to conform to it when they talk to each other, thereby meeting on comparatively neutral linguistic ground.”

### **3.3.7 General English**

Like Toolan above, Samuel Ahulu (1997:17) argues that the word English is “too restrictive a way of referring to the language.” He is dissatisfied with the label standard English, as it is neither sensitive nor precise enough to encapsulate “the educational and social reality of English as an international language” (Ahulu 1997:18). This dissatisfaction stems from the fact that standard English is associated only with British and American standards and the international use of English has resulted in forms that diverge from these norms. Therefore, Ahulu proposes General English as an alternative name for a broader sense of the language. In changing the name of English, Ahulu also conceives of an accompanying shift in the linguistic reality of English. He criticizes the fact that features which have been codified in New Englishes have not been incorporated into standard English; thus, English has become an international language, but it lacks any codification or description that adequately reflects its international character. Ahulu (1997:18) therefore claims that barring these features from the centre is tantamount to ethnocentrism and imperialism. He then suggests that variations in English as it is used internationally should be subsumed within the concept of standard English. In his opinion, this would produce a standard that is common to both L1 and L2 speakers of English.

A similar case to Ahulu’s is made by Arjuna Parakrama (1995), who argues that the only viable option to escape the ethnocentrism and imperialism involved in English is to ‘de-hegemonize language standards,’ in order to work towards broadening the standards of English to include the greatest variety possible. And ‘de-hegemonizing English’ is what the bulk of linguistic work on English as a global language has since attempted to do.

### **3.3.8 Literate English**

Catharine Wallace’s (2002:105) means of ‘de-hegemonizing’ English is to propose what she calls ‘literate English’—English which is elegant and eloquent, but not necessarily produced by a native speaker and “does not necessarily emanate in any direct way from the centre.” She argues that in a world where the majority of users are L2 English speakers, English language teaching should be less preoccupied with learners’ abilities to engage in informal spoken interaction and more interested in developing ‘literate English,’ a primarily written variety which can also be



used in spoken communication. Wallace (2002:107-108) explains that this type of 'transnational English' should not be a reduced or simplified lingua franca model of English which restricts communication to immediate utilitarian contexts; on the contrary, it should be elaborated to serve global needs, the most crucial one being "a tool for resistance." She argues that "global literate English needs to embrace a range of settings and bind diverse periphery and centre communities together" and once this is established, "it can be put to critical and creative use, challenging and dismantling the hegemony of English in its conventional forms and uses" (Wallace 2002:112).

### 3.4 English as ...

While the terms discussed above attempt to rename the English language, the terminology discussed in the following section refers to the use of English as an auxiliary lingua franca. These various proposals have evolved to describe the increasing amount of communication among and between L2 English speakers. They include the following labels: English as an International (Auxiliary) Language and English as a Lingua Franca. By rewording labels like *international English* into *English as an international language*, these scholars bring awareness to the social and cultural problems that derive from, or relate to, the role of English as an international language (McArthur 2002b:434). They also stress a function of the English language instead of a geographical variety of it: the phrase *English as...* emphasizes the use of English as a language of communication and not of identification. Moreover, as Seidlhofer (2002b:8) notes, the term English as an international language is more precise than international English because "it highlights the international use of English rather than suggesting, wrongly, that there is one clearly distinguishable, unitary variety." Finally, such terms stress the use of English by all of its speakers and deemphasize the use of L1 English speakers. They also get away from renaming the language as a whole and simply refer to certain uses of it.

#### 3.4.1 English as an International Auxiliary Language

Around the same time that Quirk was exploring the notion of Nuclear English, Smith (1976:2) suggested that the label English was no longer acceptable: "The name should be EIAL (English as an International Auxiliary Language) which more accurately reflects the present state of English language usage around the globe." An *auxiliary language*, according to Smith (1976:1), is "a language, other than the first language, which is used by nationals of a country for internal communication;" this language is not expected to replace any natural language or to become the property of any one nation. EIAL, then, could be used for both intranational and international communication without becoming the first language of its speakers.

Smith gives credible grounds for his decision to rename English. First of all, English does not belong to the native speaker, but to any country which uses it, no matter how wide or limited its use. Therefore, Smith insists, no learner of English has to become more like L1 English speakers in order to use English well. Secondly, English is no longer inextricably tied to the cultures of English speaking countries, such as the UK, the US, Australia, New Zealand or Canada, so “it isn’t even necessary to appreciate the culture of a country whose principal language is English in order for one to use it effectively” (Smith 1976:2). With this claim, Smith underlines that there are many cultures in English speaking countries and each of these cultures use English as a vehicle.

Smith also stresses that, not only does the learning of English not necessarily imply the adoption of English-speaking cultures, but it also allows for other cultures to communicate to the rest of the world their identity, culture, politics, religion and way of life. So, in his vision, “the goal for teaching English is not to learn about English culture, but to extend the ability of our students to communicate their ideas and their culture. It is to help them learn about all other cultures and to be better able to participate in the world community” (Smith 1976:5). Furthermore, he recommends that all English speakers receive training for effective international communication, so that the onus of this is not entirely carried by L2 speakers. Smith (1983) suggests that L1 English speakers be aware of cultural differences when communicating to other people and need training in how to recognize and cope with communication barriers. Smith’s pioneering work has given rise to several of the proposals discussed below.

### **3.4.2 English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)**

Since Smith’s proposal for EIAL, English has come to be commonly known as *the* global lingua franca. The language is noted for its international use and for the fact that nonnative speakers of English outnumber native speakers three to one (Graddol 1997). Moreover, Walker (2001) estimates that there are now more linguistic exchanges between nonnative speakers of English than between nonnative speakers and native speakers. Because of the wealth of L2 English interactions, research in English as a lingua franca has blossomed in the new century. Likewise, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is often the terminology preferred by contemporary scholars (e.g. House 1999; Jenkins 2000; Modiano 2001a; Seidlhofer 2001a), as it seems to aptly describe the use of English during globalization.

A lingua franca<sup>6</sup> is concisely defined in the *Microsoft Encarta World English Dictionary* (2000) as “a language used for convenience” and by Crystal (1995:454) as “a medium of communication for people who speak different first languages.” But McArthur (2002b) notes that the sense of the phrase has been extended to include “a language common to, or shared by, many cultures and communities at any or all social and educational levels, and used as an international tool.” Modiano (2001a:170) adds that a lingua franca is “a mode of communication which allows people to interact with others without aligning themselves to ideological positioning indicative of specific mother-tongue speech community.”

Because lingua franca communication often does not involve L1 speakers of the language at hand, communication norms may be different. In fact, studies by House (1999), Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2001a) have found that in the world of global communication, relying on native speaker norms (or near-native norms) cannot guarantee that communication will be successful. Therefore, these scholars promote the use of a type of English that is not based on any particular national linguistic standard, i.e. the teaching of ELF instead of English as a native language (ENL). Moreover, scholars such as these argue that this form of English will better prepare learners to communicate with L2 English speakers from all over the world, will be more “neutral with regard to the different cultural backgrounds of the interlocutors” and will therefore take place on “some kind of common intercultural basis” (Gnutzmann 1999a:163).

### **3.4.2.1 Lingua Franca Core (LFC)**

As a supporter of Widdowson’s (1994) idea that native speakers no longer own the English language, Jenkins (2000; 2002) advocates an approach to English pronunciation teaching which focuses on the use of English as a lingua franca. The goal of this teaching model is mutual intelligibility among L2 speakers of English rather than the imitation of L1 language norms. With this in mind, Jenkins outlines a new pronunciation syllabus based on empirical data gathered from L2 English speakers’ interactions. This she calls the Lingua Franca Core (LFC). Jenkins’ teaching model is intended to be a more realistic, effective and unbiased approach to teaching English. Her pronunciation goals have been reduced to only include linguistic ‘errors’ that interfere with communication. The core includes a marked difference between long and short vowels as well as between consonants (apart from /d/ and /t/) and adequate prominence on stressed syllables. However, this core does not include areas of English that often cause learners difficulty—such as

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<sup>6</sup> For a thorough history and explanation of the term lingua franca, see Meierkord and Knapp (2002).

the articulation of the /θ/ and /ð/ sounds—but, as she has proven, do not interfere with communication. In proposing the LFC, Jenkins (2000:4) seeks to find ways to make the language “more cross-culturally democratic” for all who use English for communication, “regardless of who or where they are.”

### 3.4.2.2 ‘English’/ELF

Another proponent of ELF is Seidlhofer, who suggests that the ‘English’ in English as a native language (ENL) is something very different from the ‘English’ in English as a lingua franca (ELF). In her view, ELF should not and cannot be a “globally distributed, franchised copy of ENL.” since “it is being spread [and] developed independently, with a great deal of variation but enough stability to be viable for lingua franca communication” (Seidlhofer 2001a:138). She promotes the teaching of ELF because she, like Modiano discussed below, recognizes that there are English speakers who are “not primarily concerned with emulating the way native speakers use their mother tongue within their own communities...instead, the central concerns for this domain are efficiency, relevance and economy in language learning and language use” (Seidlhofer 2001a:141).

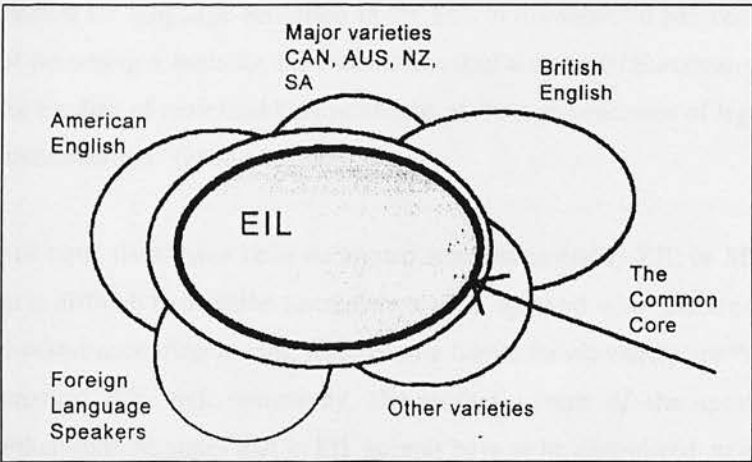
Seidlhofer is in the process of turning her theory of ELF into an empirical reality. She is currently compiling a corpus of ELF at the University of Vienna, supported by Oxford University Press, hence the name Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE). This corpus consists of spoken language used between L2 English speakers, within which Seidlhofer is seeking common features of ELF use and the most relied-upon grammatical constructions and lexical choices. Furthermore, she is describing the aspects of ELF which give rise to smooth communication, factors which tend to lead to misunderstandings or communication breakdowns and social behaviours associated with L1 English speakers that might not be relevant in L2 English communication. She is also hoping to conclude that the degree of approximation to a native variety of English is not always proportional to communicative success and that there are “commonly used constructions, lexical items and sound patterns which are ungrammatical in Standard L1 English but generally unproblematic in ELF communication” (Seidlhofer 2002a:296). Seidlhofer’s (2001a:150) ultimate objective in codifying ELF is to make it “a feasible, acceptable and respected alternative to ENL in appropriate contexts of use.”

### 3.4.3 English as an International Language (EIL)

Providing similar grounds to Jenkins' and Seidlhofer's, Modiano suggests that the term English as an International Language (EIL) replace the term standard English. Modiano (2001a:170) supports EIL as a strategy for intercultural communication because, he contends, it provides a space where speakers can be culturally, politically and socially neutral. In his opinion, EIL can act as the gateway to a global sense of community. Modiano (2001a:159) further argues that his model of EIL is more in tune with "the ideologies which underpin globalization and the vision of cultural pluralism" than English teaching platforms "based on culture-specific varieties of English." In fact, he asserts that EIL is a linguistic phenomenon that is "intimately connected with globalization and cultural integration" (Modiano 2001a:172).

According to Modiano, EIL is a lingua franca that combines the features of English which are easily understood by a broad cross-section of L1 and L2 English speakers. Modiano (1999b) represents this conception of EIL in overlapping circles. At the centre of this model is a core based on the commonalities of all varieties of English and made up of all 'competent speakers' of English, who are not necessarily native speakers but users of all varieties of English that function well in international communication. As he argues, English speakers of "excessive regional accents and dialects" or pidgin and creoles should only be included in this category if they are capable of switching into an internationally comprehensible variety (Modiano 1999b:25). Modiano, however, goes no further in defining what he means by "excessive regional" varieties of English.

Figure 3.2: Modiano's model of EIL



(From Modiano 1999a:10)



### 3.4.3.1 Mid-Atlantic English (MAE)

One component of Modiano's work on EIL is a proposal for a European variety of English, which, he maintains, is a subcategory of EIL with a much narrower scope. Modiano (1996a; 1998) suggests the label Mid-Atlantic English (MAE) be used to describe the variety which is emerging as English continues to gain ground as the lingua franca of the EU. Mid-Atlantic is a term that refers to "kinds of English, especially accents, that have features drawn from both North American English and British English" (McArthur 1992:657). Previously, Görlach and Schröder (1985:230) used the term to describe an insufficient variety of English: "an odd mixture of speech levels and...an artificial jargon", which is "acceptable neither to the educated Briton nor to the educated American." However, Modiano (1996a:210) gives the term a positive quality, as he argues that it is advantageous for a second language speaker to adopt a style of English that is not overtly American or British. This way, speakers can avoid political or cultural labelling and better retain the markings of their own country.

Modiano attributes the emergence of Mid-Atlantic in Europe to the fact that, even though most Europeans learn British English in school, the majority commingle this with the American English they are regularly exposed to. Instead of rebuking European users of English for mixing these varieties, Modiano promotes MAE as an official language for cross-cultural communication within the EU. He argues that "Europeans require a form of the language which allows for cultural pluralism, for a politically and socially neutral lingua franca," and MAE would allow for a European to remain European when speaking English (Modiano 1998:242). He sees MAE as the first stage in the movement towards a 'Euro-English' which he hopes will become the standard for language education in the EU. In his view, "it has become apparent that English is fast becoming a basis for the establishment of a common European social and cultural order," so "the English of mainland Europe should go through processes of legitimization, codification, and standardization" (Modiano 2003:36).

Until now, there have been no known attempts to codify EIL or MAE. Indeed Modiano admits that is difficult to describe since there are few speakers who can be considered 'language models'. However, according to him, features of a lingua franca variety are "traces of Standard American, unmarked RP, and, commonly, the mother tongue of the speaker" (Modiano 1996a:211). Furthermore, he states that in EIL accents have to be neutralized: neither a decidedly American or British accent, nor a significant foreign accent can be used in lingua franca communication.

Finally, Modiano argues that words belong to MAE vocabulary when they are readily understood by the greatest number of mother tongue and second language speakers. According to Modiano, features that should not belong to MAE are ‘flags’ that signal nationality, extreme regional dialects, words that have not gained international acceptance, marked RP and terms that have different meanings in British and American English. He has attempted to codify the vocabulary of MAE and give tips on using this variety in his *Mid-Atlantic Handbook* (1996b), which is sold in Nordic countries.

#### **3.4.4 English as a European language (or Euro-English)**

Since the English language has taken on such a prominent role in the EU, several scholars like Modiano have advocated the recognition of a European variety of English. Broder Carstensen (1986) was one of the first to suggest that a variety of Euro-English is taking form, having noticed a parallel development of English or ‘Englishized’ vocabulary in a number of continental languages and an increase in the use of English for intra-European communication. Building on this idea, Viereck (1996:16) argues that “just as it has become accepted practice to speak of African English and Asian English one can also refer to European English or Euro-English bearing in mind that sub-varieties exist, such as Italian English or German English.” Moreover, a study by Alexander (1999:27) focuses on the “observable trend towards Euro-English” and Cenoz and Jessner (2000:viii) remark that “a European non-native variety called ‘Euro-English’ seems to be emerging [... which] shares characteristics of British and American English but presents some differences when compared to native varieties.” Remarking on the same phenomenon, Berns (1992a; 1995) argues that a European variety of English would be an appropriate reference point for European users who communicate with mostly other L2 English speakers. This would allow European speakers of English to distinguish themselves from speakers of other varieties. De Swaan (2002a:79) agrees that an educated, cosmopolitan variety of English should be supported in Europe. In response to the plethora of research being undertaken in Europe, McArthur (2003:58) notes that “we may yet see course guides, grammars, and dictionaries dealing in how mainland Europeans at large and the citizens of such countries as Finland and France in particular have been adding their phonologies and idioms to the world’s –and Europe’s—lingua franca.” Thus it is clear that Europe provides fertile grounds for the study of use of English, as it is often used as a means of communication between L2 speakers of the language. Moreover, as European models of English become increasingly recognized, this trend will undoubtedly spread to other contexts where English is used as a lingua franca.

### **3.5 Establishing consensus**

When examining the various proposals for English discussed above, it becomes obvious that there is a lack of consensus in the conception of English and the use of terms to describe it. Although the linguistic models discussed above have many features in common, the plethora of terminology and the inconsistency within the proposals cloud important issues about English language spread and language teaching and therefore need clarification. A compilation of the features which most of the above proposals contain may provide further insight.

#### **3.5.1 English is a global language**

English is a language which is increasingly used to communicate across international boundaries. It is not geographically tied to one place: “The language, no longer the domain of a specific country, culture, race, or religious group, is not geographically restricted” (Modiano 1999a:12). Moreover, there is a general consensus that standard English should no longer be based (only) on British or American norms since English is used in so many other contexts, for example in the post colonies and as a lingua franca for cross-cultural communication.

Furthermore, English as it is used globally cannot be simplistically described as a register of English or a form of ESP. During the era of globalization, English is used in many complex ways by a large number of L1 and L2 speakers. Therefore a conception of the language must include standard English, registers of English, the English of L1 speakers and the use of English as a lingua franca. Therefore, as Davies (1989) suggests, the most appropriate means of classifying English is as a supervariety that includes as its subvarieties all forms of the language.

Just as English is often used as a global lingua franca, the language has also taken on a prominent role in Europe. It is often used as a lingua franca between members of the European government. Moreover, it is increasingly used—in business, in academia and while travelling, for example—as a means of communication between speakers of different European languages. European forms of English are being increasingly recognized and codified (see Durham 2003b; Seidlhofer 2001a). This means that English is bound to maintain its role as Europe’s lingua franca and the language will continue to be appropriated to suit this context.

#### **3.5.2 Standards of English should be more flexible**

Because of this move away from the dominance of the native speaker, there is a general consensus that the standards of English should become more flexible. Ahulu (1997) suggests that

variations in English as it is used internationally should be subsumed within the concept of standard English. Likewise, Modiano (1999b) proposes that standard English be made up of the commonalities of both L1 and L2 varieties of English. Anna Mauranen (2003) argues that L1 standards should no longer be the reference point of international discourse and differences in rhetorical style must also be accepted by the international academic community.

Moreover, no English speaker can be expected to be familiar with each local context where English is used. Therefore, as Smith (1983) recommends, both L1 and L2 speakers of English have to accommodate their speech when they talk to each other. All English speakers must also be aware of cultural differences in lingua franca communication. While scholars such as Crystal and Modiano recommend that international users of English employ a world standard variety, no such variety has been established. However, corpus work that investigates sophisticated uses of English as a lingua franca will certainly give further insight into an established variety of L2 English (e.g. Prodromou 2003).

### **3.5.3 English is not fragmenting**

In contrast to the suggestions made by Quirk, it is generally agreed that the emergence of great numbers of different Englishes does not necessarily presage the imminent break up of the language. Since there is an urgent need to communicate at world level, everyone involved has a vested interest in keeping alive a mutually intelligible variety of English. As Widdowson (1994:385) notes, “it is clearly vital to the interests of the international community of scientists or business people that they should preserve a common standard of English in order to keep up standards of communicative effectiveness.” McArthur also suggests that there is “a centripetal/centrifugal paradox in world English,” which means that “an increase in variety and in local prestige seems likely to be matched by powerful pressures towards a world standard” (McArthur 2001a:10). Similarly, Brutt-Griffler (2002:177) claims that the language is both internationally comprehensible and has several local and national variations. She argues that the continuous interaction between these speakers—especially in the fields of mass media, travel, transnational corporations and organizations and academic networks—ensures the comprehensibility of English.

### **3.5.4 English is neither neutral nor the vehicle of one single culture**

One of the greatest points of contention in the proposals discussed above concerns the neutrality of English. Early proposals for a world variety of English, for example Quirk’s system of Nuclear



English, were devised to be a neutral means of communication and intended to minimize disadvantage in lingua franca communication. Since then Pennycook (1994) has warned us that English cannot be stripped of its cultural baggage and it has been recognized that “the products of a culture are not entirely separable from the history of the people who produced them” (Joseph 1997:131). Moreover, as Holland points out:

While English may serve a variety of masters, [...it cannot] be so easily divorced from its historical roots and contemporary associations...Even if one could completely excise the British Empire, Hollywood and MacDonald's [sic] from it, Global English would still have a cultural loading, simply by virtue of being global (Holland 2002:13).

Furthermore, it is not only the cultural history of English that prevents it from functioning as a neutral lingua franca. As Christiane Meierkord points out, viewing English as a neutral lingua franca disregards the social and phatic functions of language and ignores, not only the colonial background of the language, but the fact that the speakers creating the lingua franca have their own cultural background. She argues further that “it is not only national identity that speakers might wish to express, but more generally their identity as members of specific groups, be they national, vocational, political or yet of a different type” (Meierkord 2002:110). In essence, Meierkord demonstrates that ELF can be used, if desired, as a channel of any identity.

What is more, it is crucial to recognize that if English truly were a neutral means of communication, this would imply that the language were “stripped of expressive and aesthetic characteristics and denuded of any critical or self-conscious dimension” (Said 1993:369). In establishing that English is not only the former language of British colonialism, American hegemony and globalization, but also a language capable of expressing any identity, it becomes clear that English can be used as a major channel of resistance. Viewing English as a site of struggle, Pennycook (1995:54) argues that

If we elevate language, culture, and discourse to a central role in the (re)production of global inequalities, the relationship between English and these inequalities becomes on the one hand stronger but on the other more open to resistance. If we see the relationship between power/knowledge in discourses and the power inscribed in words and produced in the struggle over meaning, we can start to understand not only the extent to which English is in the world and the extent to which it appears to run parallel to many forms of global oppression, but also the ways in which the world is in English, the ways in which



the history of conjunctions between various discourses and English creates the conditions for people's complying with their own subjugation.

So while English cannot be viewed as a purely neutral means of communication, it is also not a language that is irrevocably linked to any particular world view. It has been established that "almost every conceivable opinion, almost any human sentiment, is expressed in English; there is no language that more fully reflects the variety of human experience" (de Swaan 2001:192). This finding has caused ELT specialists to propose:

In stripping English of its cultural baggage, the profession runs the risk of forfeiting the opportunity to help students develop the critical language skills for evaluation of the ideology behind the continued flow of information and cultural products wrapped in the English language (Lam 1999:383).

Contemporary proposals for English as a lingua franca need to take all of these ideas into account. Seidlhofer, for example, argues that while complete neutrality in a language is clearly an impossibility, there are nevertheless degrees of cultural 'loadedness', with proverbs and idioms at the culture-specific end of the spectrum. As she notes:

The ELF model as such should be as free as possible of such 'prefabricated' cultural baggage taken over from ENL cultures, because the primary cultures of, say, the UK or the US have, by definition, no privileged status when English is used as a lingua franca by speakers from a variety of cultures" (Seidlhofer 2002a:273).

### **3.5.5 English is both a language for communication and identification**

Having concluded that English as a global lingua franca is not a restricted register of English and is not a neutral means of communication, it follows that the traditional distinctions often given for two different functions of language be questioned: 'language for communication' and 'language for identification' (cf. Hüllen 1992). In his study on language and identity, John Edwards (1985) suggests that there is a perceptible distinction between communicative and symbolic functions of a language and, therefore, a difference between language as a tool of communication and language as a symbol of groupness. In his opinion, "the two aspects of language are separable—the communicative from the symbolic—and it is possible for the latter to retain importance in the absence of the former" (Edwards 1985:18). Joseph (In press) also maintains that the two essential functions of language—communication and representation of identity—are of fundamental importance with our mother tongue (or tongues). Nevertheless, he points out that this role is not

the same for foreign languages, proclaiming that “when we do not claim mother-tongue competence in a language with which we are nevertheless able to communicate, we are saying something about the limitation of that language in the representational function for us” (Joseph *In press*). However, Joseph also notes that it is difficult for both the speaker and the observer to determine when a language is being used with or without identity functions. With regards to ELF, it is nearly impossible to distinguish who of the hundreds of millions of speakers of English as a second language use English in communicative functions only and how many in representational functions as well.

Like Joseph, Meierkord (2002) questions the reliability of claiming that ELF is merely geared towards communicative (and not identification) purposes. She surmises that the ‘home’ cultures of language users are bound to interfere in lingua franca communication and deduces that ELF is a hybrid form of communication, serving whatever purpose the speaker wants it to. Following Bhabha (1994), Meierkord puts forward the idea of a ‘third culture’ in language use, the space created in intercultural communication. Further proof for the expanding functions of ELF as a third space in language communication is given by Dröschel, Durham and Neukirchen (2002), who argue the following:

When using a particular language to communicate with others, speakers may wish to express a social identity transcending nationality and culture. They may, for example, wish to express their belonging to a particular economic or professional group and foreground their membership of a particular speech community that is not necessarily linked to a specific national or cultural identity...hence, English as a lingua franca fulfils both instrumental and phatic functions, which means that the language is used both for communicative purposes as well as to reflect the speakers’ identity.

Another consideration in lingua franca use is that over time a lingua franca may assume the quality of identity for speakers. Edwards (1985) notes that lingua francas are capable (at least potentially) of becoming carriers and reflectors of identity. Taking up this point, Brutt-Griffler (2002:178) argues that users of English as a lingua franca are carriers of an evolving transnational identity and make up a ‘world language speaking community’. This community, she argues, shares a culture formed by globalization and its cultural and economic accompaniments. This means that the English language is a potential carrier of the British and American culture, the ‘home’ culture of the EFL user, as well as a transmitter of the global culture in which its users participate.

### 3.6 Caveat: Empty political correctness and the commodification of English

The theories discussed above by and large promote theoretical platforms for applied linguistics that move away from a native speaker dominated conception of English. These theories have been designed to create a more neutral, democratic and international English. Applied linguists who are conscious of the postcolonial reaction to British imperialism and accusations of US hegemony have tried to redress the balance within global English use and instruction. However, there is the danger that the chief result of such proposals produces a shift towards the use of politically correct terminology without a corresponding change in practice. Much of this politically correct linguistic reform tends to focus more on language than on the social questions at issue. Instead of actually employing more critical procedures in English language teaching, the trend has been to simply change the name of the subject taught. Consequently, Seidlhofer (2001a:140) argues that changes in the perception of the role of English in the world have led to an increased socio-political and intercultural awareness but have not had an effect on English teaching itself.

As well as an effort to be politically correct, the use of adjectives like international, world and global also seem to be means of marketing the teaching and learning of English (Raley 1998). The commodification of global English can be seen in the amount of enterprises that use the term as part of their marketing efforts. Just as globalization has become a trend word or even a brand, global English has become a major sales technique. An internet search for the label “Global English” brings up several interesting results, which confound rather than clarify what this entity is. One of the most common references to global English concern schools all over the world where students supposedly learn this variety. A school called Professional Global English<sup>7</sup>, for example, offers corporate training for global communicating needs; Global English College<sup>8</sup> teaches English to students from around the world; and Global English Partnership<sup>9</sup> provides a range of professional services to facilitate and resource English language learning worldwide.

This commodification of English can also be seen when analysing some contemporary reference books of English. In fact, Wallace (2002:109) points out that “the so-called ‘global’ textbook” is “typically narrow and parochial,” while Pennycook (1994:178) argues that “globally designed textbooks have continued to be stubbornly Anglo-centric.” An example of one such book is

<sup>7</sup> <<http://www.businessproeigo.com>> [Accessed 02.05.03].

<sup>8</sup> <<http://www.globalenglishcollege.com/english/index/logotop.html>> [Accessed 02.05.03].

<sup>9</sup> <<http://www.g-e-p.net>> [Accessed 02.05.03].

Brieger (1989), a supposedly ‘international’ English textbook; nevertheless, the pronunciation key in this book is the same one as for British Received Pronunciation. Commenting on books like this, Seidlhofer (2002b:13-14) notes:

[T]he focus is still largely on Anglo-American culture(s), plus sometimes ‘exotic optional extras’ such as postcolonial literature and New Englishes, but again through a predominantly British ‘lens’. Standard British English or American English norms are taken for granted, the advocacy of ‘authentic’ materials constitutes a kind of pedagogical mantra, and teachers are expected to help their learners cope with ‘real English’, which is taken to be the English used by native speakers in their speech communities in e.g. the UK or the US.

Because of this tendency to only change terminology without changing practice, there need to be genuine efforts to establish ELT practices that are no longer (only) derived from L1 norms. The discipline of applied linguistics and ELT must be committed to moving away from an ideology that privileges native speaker varieties and accept any national English as just one English among many (see Brutt-Griffler 2002).

### **3.7 Conclusion: A plethora of Englishes as subvarieties of English**

This chapter shows that there are a plethora of terms available to describe the contemporary use of English in the so-called globalized world. As can be clearly seen, the proposals for a new name for English seem to add unnecessary complications to an already complex discussion. In the hope to avoid further confusion I will resist the temptation to produce another label for English. While terms like global/international/world English may describe the language as it is used internationally, they do not represent a new linguistic entity. Moreover, the use of such terms recognizes the multiple varieties of English in the world and implies an open-minded attitude to the use of these varieties in global communication and education. At a time when English speakers are located around the world and L1 and L2 speakers alike command the language, the traditional conception of the English language needs to be accommodated to include the multiple uses of English in the world. This is why McArthur (2003) goes beyond the basic term English to the idea of an ‘English language complex’. This terminology, he explains, helps one cover—but also get beyond—issues such as “‘English’, the name of a European people, ‘English’, the sole language of that people, ‘English’ the language of places around the world influenced by that people, and ‘English’ the world’s lingua franca” (McArthur 2003:56).

Because of the complex situation in the world where English means so many things to so many different people, this chapter has established the necessity to carry out case studies which examine the use of English in particular contexts. In the following chapter, I will establish the context in which I have carried out such a case study. Such a detailed approach will add to a general picture of the role of English in globalization by capturing factors not taken on board by universal theories. It will also lend strength to the assertions of consensus catalogued in this chapter. Finally, this approach will also help to situate a methodology for English that reflects the needs of the learners in one particular context while keeping in mind their global uses of the language.



## A PROFILE OF STUDENTS OF ENGLISH AT THE FU BERLIN: AN IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF ENGLISH AS A GLOBAL LANGUAGE

### 4.1 A profile of students of English at the FU

While the previous two chapters give a theoretical background to the terms globalization and English, this chapter situates the discussion in a particular environment where both the effects of globalization and the use of English are prevalent: the English section of the language centre at the Freie Universität in Berlin, a major German university. A sociolinguistic analysis of these students highlights some of the general trends of globalization as well as its particular effects in one specific context. This profile also shows that students use English daily in varied contexts and are regularly exposed to the diversity of the language. Students of English at the FU are already proficient in English by the time they get to university and for many of them, English plays an important role in their lives, both inside and outside the classroom. Because of internet technology, the international atmosphere of Berlin and regular travels and stays abroad, students theoretically have unrestrained access to English.

Insights into student uses of and attitudes towards English may give insight into the evolving role of English in Europe. Moreover, as English majors these students will be the upcoming generation of English experts in Germany and Europe and consequently, to some degree, hold the future of the language in their hands. As de Swaan (2001:192) argues, “Europeans might develop their own variety, the way Indians did, for example. Native speakers of other European languages, trained in English at the language academies of the [European] Union, could become authoritative editors and judges of style for an emerging European English.”

What is more, these students represent a group of English users in a major European capital. Berlin is an emerging cosmopolitan, multicultural urban centre, which is once again the capital of Germany. Berlin is an international city, which could serve as an example of a prototypical European or even a ‘global city’ (Sassen 1991). Since German reunification in 1990, Berlin has been experiencing constant change which has given the city a new international flavour. The seat of government moved from Bonn to Berlin in 1998, bringing many German media companies with it. The city has also become the site of major business development, with Potsdamer Platz

housing the Sony Center, DaimlerChrysler and several other international corporations. Berlin is now a major tourist attraction, as floods of people from around the world come to see the sights and cultural treasures, attend the International Film Festival, dance and party at the annual Love Parade, or take part in international conventions.

The new Berlin is a major contributor to the establishment of the EU and it is often seen as situated at the geographical as well as political centre in united Europe (Capital City: Partner für Berlin 2002). A popular travel guide even claims that for over a century Berlin's political climate has either mirrored or determined what has happened in the rest of Europe, so that Berlin serves as a "weather vane of European history" (Holland and Gawthrop 1998:xi). As a combination of east and west, old and new, traditional and modern, Berlin serves as an example of the shape of things to come in an ever-expanding Europe. As Homi K. Bhabha argues, "in this age of transition [...] Berlin [...] is becoming a meeting place for dialogues between cultures, a bridge between the past and the present, East and West, North and South" (on House of World Cultures website 1999).

By examining the various aspects of students' English use in Berlin, this chapter will present a picture of the increasing number of domains that are being affected by globalization and the current role of English in this environment. In undertaking this sociolinguistic profile of students of English at the FU, I thus capture in microcosm features of language use and appropriation that have not been taken on board before in accounts of globalization. Moreover, such a detailed account of one language-using community will be helpful in designing a situated practice for English language teaching.

## **4.2 The Freie Universität Berlin (FU)**

The setting for this study, the Freie Universität Berlin (FU), is one of three major universities in Berlin, with 45,000 students. The FU is a by-product of the separation of Berlin after World War II. After the war, Berlin's major university, the Humboldt Universität, was located in the Russian Sector of the city and as a result of battles between east and west about the availability of knowledge, a new university was founded in 1948 in West Berlin—a 'free' university—with generous support from the US (History FU Berlin 2002). The FU, which was located in the American Sector, has always had strong ties with the US and even claims to be "a symbol of German-American friendship" (History FU Berlin 2002).

#### 4.2.1 Studying English at the FU

As the FU was funded in large part by US assistance, Berlin has been home to one of the best departments for North American Studies in Germany: the John F. Kennedy (JFK) Institute for North American Studies (NAS), founded in 1963. The library's holdings were once legendary not only in West Germany (FRG) but throughout Europe (About J.F.K.-Institute 2002) and the institute has been called "in ganz Europa der beste Platz, um über Nordamerika zu forschen"<sup>1</sup> (Dewitz 2002:4). The JFK Institute is the largest institution for NAS in Germany, with at least 1,200 students enrolled in its programmes. All students carrying out a *Magister* in NAS have to acquire skills in the English language (these courses are given by the language centre) and take basic courses in American History and American Literary/Cultural History. Students then specialize by choosing among literature, culture, language, political science and social history in any combination. Such a large programme with an interdisciplinary approach is unique to the FU (About J.F.K.-Institute 2002).

English Philology (EP) is a more traditional branch of English studies, which can be found at most German universities. Originally, this field was largely confined to the study of early periods of the language and, therefore, studying English was not necessarily related to learning the English language. Often, courses were offered in German only, texts were German translations and papers were written in German. Much of this has changed for today's students of EP at the FU. A degree in EP is focused on British history, culture, literature and linguistics and there is also a practical language module for this study programme: courses in phonetics, writing, grammar and translation are mandatory.

All aspiring English teachers in Germany are required to take a combination of courses in literature, culture, history and linguistics (either in the department of NAS or EP), plus a language module (offered by the language centre) and courses in pedagogy. However, instead of getting a *Magister* degree, they take a state exam (*Staatsexamen*) to get their qualification. They then complete a two year practical trainee programme before they can become teachers in state institutions. The FU is one of the few universities in Germany that offers a degree in English Language Pedagogy with a concentration in NAS. However, the majority of English education majors (and most teacher trainers in Germany) are trained primarily in British English and all of the future teachers officially belong to the programme for English at the department of English Philology.

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<sup>1</sup> The best place in Europe to do research in North American Studies.

Until the mid-1990s, any student could study English at the FU as long as their general grade point average was high enough to be accepted to the university. However, this policy started to be problematic after the reunification of East and West Germany. The university suddenly had new obstacles to deal with. Students from the East were pouring into the university, but many of those who wanted to study English had lower proficiency than their western counterparts because they had studied little English at school. Language courses were over-crowded and the students had widely varying abilities. In order to keep standards for English high, the language centre introduced entrance regulations for English in 1996. Students now have to either attain at least a score of 11 out of 15 on their *Abitur* (their A-level exam), or they have to pass an entrance exam for English. The level of this exam is designed to be an equivalent of Cambridge Proficiency or 600 points or above on the TOEFL (which is higher than most entry requirements for studying at university in English-speaking countries). If students are below this level, there is basically no opportunity for them to study English at the FU. However there is one course (called the bridge course) for students whose entrance exam results were slightly under those that are required. These students have one semester to complete a course which is designed to get them up to the level which is sufficient to study English at the FU. Today, although there is still variation in students' English proficiency, the implementation of this exam has ensured that only students of relatively advanced level are able to have English as one of their major subjects.

#### **4.2.2 The language centre**

The language centre (*Sprachlabor*) is responsible for most of the practical language teaching at the FU. Students who attend language centre courses do so to fulfil requirements of their degrees. For example, a student doing a Masters in Latin American Studies has to complete a certain number of Spanish language courses; these will be offered by the Spanish section of the language centre. Courses at the language centre are provided for students of English, French, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Czech and German as a Foreign Language (ZE Sprachlabor 2002). The language centre was founded in 1972 when the need for practical language training was recognized and there was a shortage of language professionals in the academic departments.

##### **4.2.2.1 The English section**

The English section of the language centre is in charge of teaching the 'technical skills' for the students of English, whether they study North American Studies, English Philology, or English Language Pedagogy. There are around 2,000 students enrolled in English programmes and



approximately 200 students go through language centre courses per semester. Only students who have English as one of their university majors are allowed to attend these English courses. These students have usually had between 8 and 13 years of English by the time they reach university, so there are no courses for beginners. In 2003, the practical courses that students were required to take are: Phonetics, Oral Production Practice, Grammar, Reading Comprehension and Writing, Translation, Advanced Essay Writing (with a choice of essay, creative, or academic writing) and Advanced Translation. The language centre has also developed a Minor in English for students of Business and Economics. These students have their own writing, translation and oral production courses which are more tailored to business language skills.

In 2003, the fifteen-member full- and part-time English teaching staff at the language centre represented a relative balance between different varieties of English. Three of the teachers are German, all with excellent command of English. The rest of the staff is composed of one Scottish lecturer, one New Zealander, one Irish, two English and five American lecturers, including me. All have at least a Master's-level education and several have a background in applied linguistics.

#### **4.3 Methodology for the student profile**

Greater insight into the role of a language in any context can be gained by using an analytical framework known as a 'sociolinguistic profile'. This type of analysis, originally outlined by Charles Ferguson (1975), has been used in sociolinguistics to represent situations where English is used around the world (see Kachru and Nelson 1996). A sociolinguistic profile both highlights the salient uses and users of a language and reveals attitudes to a language in a particular context. It provides linguistic information about a community in terms of political, geographical and economic factors. This type of profile can serve as a basis for comparison of these features in a range of contexts; such comparisons are "instrumental in understanding the characteristics that distinguish one context from another" (Berns 1992a:7). A sociolinguistic profile can also provide a description of the speech community in the social and cultural context, which is a useful starting point for informed decision making in the pedagogical areas of curriculum development, materials design and the setting of goals and expectations, as well as in the areas of language planning and policy-making.

My analysis includes a sociolinguistic profile of students of English at the FU. It consists of a quantitative analysis of a questionnaire that was distributed to 101 students in the English section of the language centre. The empirical analysis of the questionnaire is supported by five follow-up



interviews with students from the language centre. Moreover, this study includes data that has been collected from student essays, assignments and classroom interaction.

This profile aims to reveal how, when, where and how often the students use English. As I assumed that their English use was in part related to the amount of travelling they do, I wanted to find out how often they travel, how many of them have lived or worked abroad and how often they need English when they travel. But as English is being used increasingly within European countries, I wanted to capture how much English these students use for their daily life in Berlin. Moreover, I was interested in assessing how multilingual students of English are and whether they still see a need for other foreign languages besides English. The study also attempts to gain insight into students' attitudes towards the growing presence of English in Germany and whether they are worried about the dominance of English in Europe or think that English is a rather harmless medium of international communication. In addition, I wanted to gauge their attitudes to British English, American English and other varieties of English—referring both to the type of English they produce and the model of English which they imitate. I also tested their reactions to the idea of English as a lingua franca or a variety of European English. This study then attempts to discover why students make these decisions and what factors are involved in their choices.

In addition to being a sociolinguistic profile of a group of English users, this study was designed to gather some general information about the language centre's student body. I predicted that students today have more access to English and more personal experience with English than those for whom the university courses were designed in 1972. If this were the case, there would have to be a corresponding change in the teaching programme to meet the needs of today's students. In light of upcoming university reforms in Germany and the implementation of a Bachelor's/Master's system, an analysis of students' uses of and needs for English is surely a valuable work to be referenced when making pedagogical policy decisions. In sum, this sociolinguistic profile of students of English at the FU will seek to define:

- the uses students make of English
- student motivations for learning English
- students' formal experiences in English learning
- the language learning that students are doing outside the classroom
- the model of English students choose to follow
- the kind of communicative competence in English they want to develop
- their attitudes toward English

- possible adjustments in the education system for English that would better equip learners for English in a world context

### 4.3.1 The questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to gauge the uses of English among students, considering both formal and informal domains, in and outside the classroom. Following the lead of A.N. Oppenheim (1992), I undertook two pilot studies: one questionnaire was distributed to 50 students in July 2000 and the second questionnaire was distributed to 20 students in February 2001. The pilot questionnaires employed many open-ended questions in order to get a wide variety of responses. These responses helped to form the forced choice questions that appeared in the final questionnaire.

Another important source for the design of my final questionnaire was a study administered by Bent Preisler<sup>2</sup>, who undertook a government assessment of the role of English in Denmark. This study involved a quantitative analysis of responses to a questionnaire given to a random sample of the Danish adult population (Preisler 1999a; 1999b; 2003). Preisler's questionnaire was intended to find out about peoples' use of English and the sociolinguistic and sociopsychological factors behind this use of English in Denmark. Many of the questions were directly applicable to my situation in the language centre and useful for detecting student uses of and attitudes towards English. Other questions were not, as his survey was directed towards the entire Danish population and my respondents were limited to language centre students who are all proficient in English.

The other questionnaire I made use of was part of a linguistic study on Danish students' responses to different varieties of English by Hans Ladegaard (1998). Ladegaard was primarily interested in the perception of British, American and Australian language varieties and culture in a context where English is a second language. These attitudes, he argues, may have serious educational implications in the English language classroom.

The questionnaire used for this study (see Appendix A) was in English and the majority of students answered in English, although they were told they were free to answer in German if they preferred. It contains 64 questions, most of them forced choice questions based on the results of

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<sup>2</sup> Many thanks to Bent Preisler for supplying me with a copy of his questionnaire and also to Matthias Boenner for translating it from Danish to English.

the pilot studies. Other questions could be answered on a Likert-type scale, such as those which enquired into students' opinions about English. For example, respondents could choose numbers on a scale from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). Finally, there were a few questions left open-ended in order to solicit longer explanations and answers. There were five sections in the survey which covered a range of topics:

1. Personal information
2. Experiences with foreign languages
3. Current exposure to English
4. (Preferences in) Varieties of English
5. Opinions about the role of English

In July 2001, I distributed 101 questionnaires to the students of the language centre. Thus at least half of the students who took courses that semester filled out a questionnaire. The total number of students enrolled in degrees that require English as a module are 2,410, which means that 4% of the total population was surveyed. The questionnaires were distributed to students in courses that represent a wide range of students of English—from those at the beginning of their studies to more advanced students, and including students with various academic interests. This includes students of both EP and NAS, results from one Business Writing course (11 respondents are Economics or Business majors and minoring in English) and one Bridge course (18 students, some of whom may not go on to study English). The small number of students who were exchange students that semester was included in the sample, as they are an integral part of the university body. After receiving all the responses to the questionnaire, the responses were computer coded and entered into SPSS<sup>3</sup>. My hypotheses were that many of the students in the language centre:

- had spent time in an English-speaking country;
- had experience with other Englishes besides the American and British varieties;
- used English regularly to communicate with other nonnative speakers;
- needed English daily for academic purposes but also for social purposes, whether hobbies, computer use, consumption of media or communication with foreign friends;
- had personal experiences with the language that shaped their attitudes towards it;
- had very positive and non-critical attitudes towards English; and
- had already established a certain identity for themselves in English.

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<sup>3</sup> I am extremely grateful to Bertil Schwotzer and Jens Vogelgesang for their intelligent, insightful, friendly and patient assistance with the analysis of this questionnaire's statistics.

### 4.3.2 The interviews

After undertaking this quantitative analysis, I conducted five interviews with students: Alina, Beatrice, Diane, Oskar and Steffen.<sup>4</sup> These names are pseudonyms and the real names of the interviewees have been protected. These students were chosen to be interviewed because of the categories they fit into. The methods for designing this classification system—the Ward Cluster Analysis—will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6. These students were also selected on account of the fact that they volunteered their email addresses at the end of the questionnaire. Moreover, they were students that I remembered from class as being friendly and cooperative. The fact that I only have representatives of students who are rather successful university students can be attributed to the fact that they were the ones who volunteered for this study.

At the time that the students were interviewed, they were no longer students in my courses, so it was clear that this study was in no way related to their academic success. Although these students were aware that I was involved in some kind of linguistic research that involves English as a global language, they did not know my specific research aims. At that time, I did not go into detail about what I was hoping to find from the interviews as I did not want to steer their responses. At the beginning of the interview the students were told:

I'm conducting some research about people's opinions about English around the world and how it is taught in Germany. I've asked you to come in and talk to me because I thought that I could benefit from your views about English and experiences with the language. This interview will be private and confidential, your name will not be linked to anything you say here and this is in no way linked to the language centre.

All interviews were conducted in English and the students seemed to welcome the opportunity to talk about their experiences with English. In general, the interviews were informal, as I wanted to make the students feel comfortable and I wanted to capture their uses of English. I first engaged in light conversation to put us both at ease. Then I asked some general information seeking questions, like “When did you first start learning English?” I had their questionnaire results with me, which I often referred to in questions such as, “You wrote that British English is more cultivated than American English, could you expound on that?”

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<sup>4</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to those students who volunteered their time and insights for these interviews.

The interview questions were designed to test hypothesized categories and to give more insight into the quantitative results I had already established. They also helped to compensate for the limitations inherent in forced choice questions in the questionnaire. I encouraged the respondents to elaborate upon their opinions, interests or issues in order to obtain a richer and more comprehensive data source than was possible through the questionnaires. Therefore, these interviews are comparable to the qualitative ethnographic data that an anthropologist might use to back up the quantitative data of a household survey.

As I knew each student to some extent, we were familiar with each other. Rather than sticking to a rigid format, the interviews were loosely organized, using what Deborah Schiffrin (1994) calls a 'stepwise format', in which the next discussion topic was based on the respondent's previous answer. In this way, the interview resembled a conversation. I attempted to minimize my influence on the students' opinions as much as possible, but I am aware that my interests might have had an impact on how the interviews unfolded. Realizing this, I made no attempts to be invisible. Like Schiffrin, who makes no excuses for the naturalness of her data, I have not elicited anything but narratives offered to the researcher. The benefit of conducting research in this way is that I have received highly personal accounts of students' experiences with and feelings towards English. Diana Boxer (2002:18) argues that this way of capturing people talking about their talk and reflecting on their own identities and values is of great value.

All interviews were recorded with a small portable tape recorder. Later I transcribed them (see Appendix B). I have cited these interviews liberally with the intention of allowing these English users to speak for themselves. Quotations have been chosen to represent strands of opinion which seemed to best represent the findings from the questionnaire. Excerpts are preceded by the first letter of the students name (A:, B:, D:, O: and S:) and the interviewer's first name (E:). All students interviewed consented to having their interviews recorded and their data presented in this study.

At the time that this study was undertaken, it was not common practice in Germany or Britain to go through formal channels, such as a human subjects' committee, in order to conduct research. However, this study does conform to the recommendations on good practice published by the British Association of Applied Linguistics (BAAL 1994). Throughout the research process, the results of this study have been made available to the student participants and they have had the opportunity to comment on the fairness and accuracy of the results.



### 4.3.3 Excerpts from student assignments and essays

Over my years of teaching at the FU, I have often given students assignments in which they have had to reflect on the role of English in their life, in Europe or as a global lingua franca. This was done to increase their 'critical language awareness' (Fairclough ed 1992). In cases where students' written work has been interesting for my research, I have asked them for permission to use their work as an example. All excerpts that are cited here are done so with the informed consent of the student authors.<sup>5</sup> The texts are cited verbatim, in their uncorrected original form, in order to reflect students' use of English. These excerpts are marked in this text with bullet points (•).

## 4.4 Questionnaire findings: A general description of the student body

The following includes a general assessment of the student body of the language centre.

### 4.4.1 Age and level of study

The average age of the students at the language centre is 24, but students range in age from 20-40. Although German students are notorious in Europe for their long study periods, only 4% of language centre students are over 30. The majority of students (85%) are between 21 and 26 years of age.

The bulk of students (around 60%) are in their *Grundstudium*, the name for the basic level of studies. This phase of the degree (comparable to Bachelor's level) consists of the required core courses and usually takes two to three years. After completing all *Grundstudium* courses and passing exams, students carry on to the *Hauptstudium*, the name for the advanced level courses in a degree, which also takes between two to three years to complete (comparable to a Master's level). At this level of studies, students specialize in their fields of interest. The lower number of *Hauptstudium* students in language courses may be due to the fact that the EP department offers its own advanced writing courses in order to prepare students for their exams.

### 4.4.2 Sex

Of the 101 students who filled out the questionnaire, 68% are female. The percentage of women studying EP is even higher than in NAS: Women make up 65% of those studying NAS, but a larger number of 77% of those studying EP. This dominance of female students roughly

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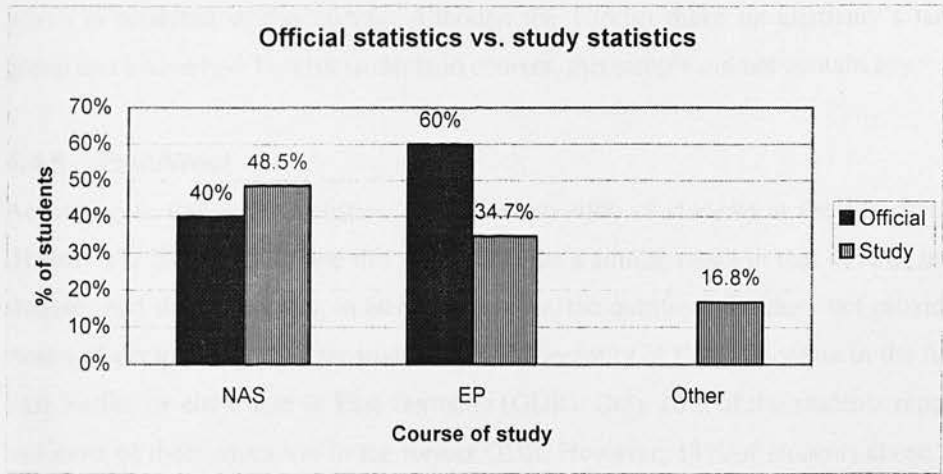
<sup>5</sup> Many thanks to those students who have contributed to this study.

corresponds to university statistics (FU Berlin Statistic: Studierende Sommersemester 2001), 79% of EP students are female and 69% of NAS students are female. The high majority of female students in EP can be attributed to the fact that EP courses are more specifically for teachers and more women than men pursue employment as teachers in Germany.

**4.4.3 Subjects of Study: Majors (*Hauptfächer*) and Minors (*Nebenfächer*)**

Students at the FU can take one major and two minors, or they can take a double major. According to university statistics (FU Berlin Statistic: Studierende Sommersemester 2001), there are 2,410 students studying English, with 975 in the NAS department and 1,435 in EP. Table 4.1 below shows that the results of this study show a slightly different picture than university statistics. FU statistics show that the programme for EP (which includes the courses for teacher education) is larger than the department of NAS. While the percentage of NAS students in my study aligns quite well with official statistics, there is an obvious under-representation of EP students. This may have to do with the type of courses I teach. As mentioned above, many EP students attend advanced writing courses in their own department and not in the language centre. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that seventeen students have other majors; these students are the business students and the students of other majors in the Bridge course.

Table 4.1: Official statistics vs. study statistics



The following is a list in descending order of the other popular subjects that students have as Majors and Minors. Pedagogy is not listed here because students following these courses are registered in the department of EP. The high number of Economics students can be attributed to

the fact that one Business Writing course was included in the sample. Without considering that course, 10% of the sample has Economics as one of their main subjects.

**Table 4.2: The six most common subjects (other than NAS and EP) studied by language centre students**

Major	%
Economics	21%
Media Studies	16%
History	15%
German	13%
Political Science	10%
Sociology	8%

**4.4.4 Nationality**

University statistics show that more than 10% of all FU students come from outside Germany to study (History FU Berlin 2002). This number is higher in the language centre where 16% of the students surveyed in the language centre are non-German. These students come from a wide range of countries, including Bulgaria, France, Hungary, Korea, Mongolia, Poland and the US. Since reunification, there has been an obvious increase in students from the eastern bloc at the FU, which is reflected in this survey. Although the Turkish make up Germany’s largest minority group and I have had Turkish students in courses, this sample did not contain any.

**4.4.5 East/West**

According to university statistics, approximately 49% of students at the FU come from Berlin (History FU Berlin 2002) and this survey reflects a similar result in that 45% of language centre students had their schooling in Berlin. However, the questionnaire does not provide an accurate means of deciphering whether students had the majority of their education in the former West or East Berlin, or elsewhere in East Germany (GDR). Only 10% of the students reported that they had most of their education in the former GDR. However, 18% of students chose not to answer the question of where their education took place, which might be an indicator that they are still hesitant to disclose which part of Germany they are from. Some students from the east have reported that they have had to face prejudice in education and are therefore hesitant to discuss their early education.

At the beginning of the 1990s there was a significant problem in university language education because students who came from former East Germany lacked the English language proficiency that their western counterparts had. In the GDR, Russian was the most important foreign language and only a minority of students had the opportunity to learn English. English was only offered at secondary schools which were attended by a minority of pupils (Thürmer 1997). Additionally, the proficiency of the teachers and the type of learning materials were not comparable to those in the FRG where there was more contact with English-speakers and English-speaking countries. However, most FU students are under 25 and were in grade school in 1989 when the Berlin Wall came down. The differentiated school system of the FRG was introduced in all five *Bundesländer* in eastern Germany at the beginning of school year 1992/93 (Foreign language teaching in schools in Europe 2001:51). The access to English education is now standardized throughout Germany and all public schools offer English courses from at least the 7<sup>th</sup> grade. Therefore, language centre students' levels of English no longer seem particularly dependent on whether they were schooled in the old or new *Bundesländer* (although there may be a higher number of students from the west accepted to the programme). As one student noted in an essay:

- I grew up in the former GDR and used to learn Russian. Only after 1990 I started learning English. It soon became a part of everyday's life. It was just everywhere—especially in the media such as TV and radio. At school I was told that I'm gonna need English in the future, primarily at work and to communicate with people from all around the world. So I took part at a language course in Wales. Later I had the opportunity to stay in the US for a year. During that time I got to know friends from America and elsewhere. I gained many new experiences in the field of language and by improving my English I learned to understand the way other people think and express themselves.

#### **4.4.6 Language skills (besides English)**

This survey shows that language centre students have a wealth of foreign language skills and have spent a lot of time learning languages. The majority of students, 85%, have German as a mother tongue and for those who do not, all report some kind of proficiency in German. A mere 3% of students reported that they are bilingual.

Students were asked to list the languages besides English and their mother tongue(s) that they speak and to judge their proficiency in those languages, either with 'Basic', 'Intermediate', 'Proficient' or 'Completely fluent'. Only 2% of students report that they do not have some sort of proficiency in another foreign language beside English, which means that almost all students have

learned at least two foreign languages. More than half have learned at least three foreign languages and more than one in six have learned at least four foreign languages.

**Table 4.3: Percentage of students with competence in languages other than first language (L1)**

Languages	% (n=101)
L1 + English + at least 1 other foreign language	98%
L1 + English + at least 2 other foreign languages	58%
L1 + English + at least 3 other foreign languages	18%

The most common foreign language spoken by students—after English—is French, which 79% of the students claim to know, most at least at an intermediate level (61%). Spanish is the second most popular additional language after French, which 28% of students know (43% of whom at least at an intermediate level). The third most prevalent language is Russian (which also hints at how many students at the FU had their education in the GDR); most of those who know Russian (81%) only claim to have basic proficiency in the language. Other foreign languages include (in descending order) Italian, German, Latin, Japanese, Swedish, Polish, Greek, Arabic and Korean.

The results of this survey match up well with the findings of the 2000 Eurobarometer report (Languages in Europe 2001) and with what is known about the history of foreign language teaching in West, East and united Germany. French was the most common third language taught in the FRG and now it is the most common third language in reunited Germany. Most university students had at least seven years of French in school. Spanish is another popular language among students. This might be because of the rising popularity of Spanish-speaking countries as holiday destinations or because students are hoping to capitalize on the open market of South American countries. Students' knowledge of Russian can be explained by the fact that this language was a requirement for students in the GDR, with most teaching done according to the grammar-translation method. This means that students may not have been motivated to learn Russian, as the status of the language was not high and they had very few opportunities to use it (Thürmer 1997). However, Russian was also taught in the FRG (especially at Steiner or Montessori schools), so the knowledge of Russian is not exclusive to students from the GDR. The only student interviewed that had taken Russian in school was Diane, who said she had forgotten most of it. But still she tries to use it whenever she meets people from Russia. Diane kept learning



Russian in school after the Wall came down, even though she admitted that “I thought, maybe I’m not going to use it anyway in my whole life.”

One fear that is commonly expressed in discussions about foreign language education in the EU is that if people are successful in communicating internationally in English, they may not be motivated to learn other foreign languages. This, however, does not seem to be the case among most language centre students. In fact, several of them noted that today knowledge of English was a given, so a further foreign language was mentioned by several respondents as an added advantage. As English language proficiency increases for all Europeans, skills in, for example, French, Italian and Spanish will give job applicants an edge over the competition (see Erling and Walton 2002).

#### **4.4.7 Previous English education: It’s part of *Allgemeinbildung*<sup>6</sup> today to speak English well**

A large section of the survey was devoted to examining students’ histories of English learning in formal language-learning contexts. Almost without exception, every language centre student attended a *Gymnasium*—a type of school that prepares pupils for higher education—and has received the *Abitur* or its equivalent—a school qualification that is awarded after thirteen years and prepares pupils for higher education (comparable to an A-level or high school diploma). In Germany, secondary education is divided into three tracks, *Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, and *Gymnasium*, which are based on academic ability. It is at *Gymnasien* that the greatest number of foreign languages are taught—at least two, often three and sometimes as many as four.

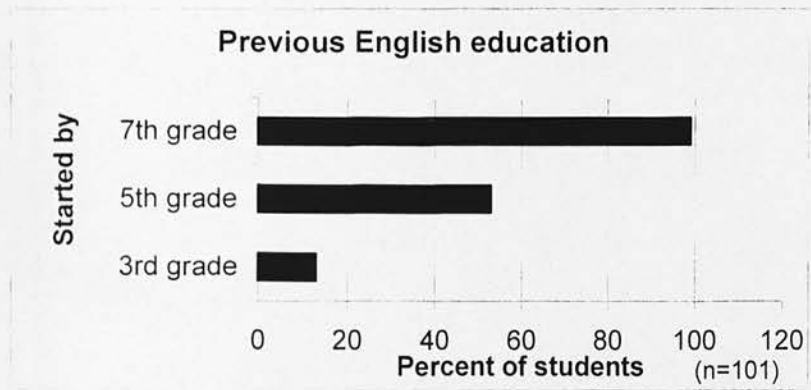
The data in my survey reflect the general pattern of language learning in German schools, where children usually start learning their first language at school in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade (around age 11) and their second in the 7<sup>th</sup> grade (around age 13). These two languages are often English and French, in the order the child (or child’s parents) prefers. School children at *Gymnasien* often have the option to learn a third language (Latin, Russian, or Spanish, for example) starting in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade. Students carry on studying foreign languages at least until the 10<sup>th</sup> grade, if not until the 13<sup>th</sup>, depending on the learner’s plan for future education and employment. With this in mind, students at the language centre started to learn English relatively early: 13% started English by the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, 53% of those polled started English by the 5<sup>th</sup> grade and 99% of them started by the 7<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>General education.

grade. This means that majority of students (53%) had between 8-10 years of English before entering university.

Table 4.4: Previous English Education of language centre students



English is often required as part of the *Abitur*. Students can study English either as a basic course (*Grundkurs*) or as an intensive course (*Leistungskurs*). At the end of a *Leistungskurs*, students should have achieved a relatively high level of competence—the ability to hold conversations in English, read a short story and write a short essay. At the FU, 72% of the students completed a *Leistungskurs* in English.

For the students surveyed in this questionnaire, German was most often the only medium of instruction in the schools they attended. The amount of teaching time spent in English at school depends on what type of school students attended. For most schools, English courses vary between two to five hours per week. Younger students in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade generally have two hours of English class per week, but students have at least three hours per week by the 7<sup>th</sup> grade. Starting from the 10<sup>th</sup> grade, many students have as much as five hours of English per week. There are, however, a few students at the FU who attended private or international schools which offer education in both German and English (and often another language). The John F. Kennedy school in Berlin, for example, is a bilingual, bicultural, German-American school sponsored by the German government for students of both nationalities to be taught together “with the goal of developing respect, tolerance and understanding of each other” (J.F.K School 2000).

However, it is not only at public schools that these students were educated in English. According to the results of the survey, 16% of students of English at the language centre have also studied at

a private language institute for English and 20% of them hold a certificate for English proficiency (mostly TOEFL or Cambridge).

4.4.8 Proficiency in English

In the next section of the survey, students were requested to rate their own proficiency in English. They were asked to what extent they are able to understand, read and write English.

Table 4.5: Students' self assessment of English proficiency

To what extent are you able to:

	to a great extent	to a certain extent	very little / not at all
understand English song lyrics when they listen to music	61%	38%	1%
understand English movies without subtitles	66%	34%	0%
read and understand a book written in English	71%	28%	1%
Write a letter in English	63%	35%	2%
Write an academic text in English	23%	62%	15%

Here it is clear that students are highly proficient in the language both in and outside of the classroom. They understand films and music, they listen to lectures and read academic texts in English and sometimes they have to give presentations in English or write papers in English. However, the majority of them judge themselves to be only able to write an academic text in English 'to a certain extent'.

4.5 Case studies: Five students of English at the FU

The five students who were interviewed for this sociolinguistic profile will serve as examples of English students at the FU. At the time of the interviews, all students were between 22 and 29 and, as in the questionnaire results, there is a slight bias towards female students, students in the *Grundstudium* and students of NAS. Two of the five students are originally from Berlin, one from East Berlin and the other from West Berlin. This group represents the various experiences students have with English, their opinions about English and their motivations for studying it. The experiences that these five students describe will be used to support and exemplify the empirical data that was found through qualitative means. The following presents a brief biography of these students and their experiences with English.

Table 4.6: Representative students of English at the FU

Name	Sex	Year born	Level of study <sup>7</sup>	Major/s	Minor/s	Future career
Alina	f	1978	HS	Media Studies	NAS/Economics	Journalist
Beatrice	f	1979	GS	EP/ Sports	Education	Teacher
Diane	f	1978	GS	Anthropology	EP	Filmmaker
Oskar	m	1973	HS	NAS	Theatre	Film Director
Steffen	m	1978	GS	NAS/Special education	Education	Teacher

#### 4.5.1 Alina

Alina was born in 1978 and has lived in Berlin for five years. Media Studies is her major, with minors in NAS and Economics. She would like to be a journalist. Perhaps she would like to work in England one day. Alina attended a sixth form college in Brighton for a year during school, which was a great experience for her. Since then, she has been back to the UK for holidays and she did an internship at a local paper in Brighton in 2000. She has been to the US twice for holidays but never for an extended stay. Alina started learning English in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade, did a *Lesitungskurs* in English and holds the Cambridge Proficiency Certificate for English. She speaks English with a convincing southern English accent. Her second best foreign language (after English) is French. Alina's father is Greek and he spoke Greek to her as a child, so she understands and speaks the language but cannot read and write it; in fact her French is better than her Greek. At the time of her interview, Alina was doing an internship in a large media corporation, translating English news into German.

#### 4.5.2 Beatrice

Beatrice was born in 1979 in Ghana and Ashanti is her mother tongue. She started learning English at school in Ghana when she was 6 or 7. When she was 12, she moved to Berlin with her family and started learning German. Now she is a German citizen and although English was like another mother tongue for her before she came to Germany, she says her English is now worse than her German. At home, she speaks Ashanti with her parents, but that is always mixed with English. With her younger brothers, she only speaks German, as their Ashanti is not as good as hers. She is now studying EP and sports and wants to be a teacher. She also competes in events

<sup>7</sup> GS is an abbreviation for *Grundstudium*, the first level of study, and HS is an abbreviation for *Hauptstudium*, the advanced level.

such as running and long jump. At the time of her interview, she was preparing to study abroad for a year in England.

#### **4.5.3 Diane**

Diane was born in 1978 in East Berlin. She spent six years of her childhood in Egypt where her father worked. There she went to an Arabic and German speaking kindergarten, but now she can remember only a few words in Arabic. When she was seven and had to start school, her family came back to the GDR. In school, her first foreign language was Russian, which she started in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade. Then she started learning English in the 7<sup>th</sup> grade. She was 11 in 1989 when the Wall came down. When she was 16 she moved to the western part of Berlin and away from her family. Diane loves to travel: She has been to Italy several times and also spent two years in India and Nepal, where her only language of communication was English; she even taught English lessons to Buddhist nuns in the Himalayas. She also has learned a bit of the northern Indian language Ladakhi. At the time of her interview, Diane was preparing to go to Benin to collect data for an anthropological project, for which she was also trying to learn French. In the future, she would love to become a documentary filmmaker, as in her opinion, that would be “the best way to express yourself and reach people: you can reach more people with film than with research.”

#### **4.5.4 Oskar**

Oskar was born in 1973 and considers himself a real Berliner. His mother is Hungarian, so he speaks a bit of Hungarian, but mostly they spoke German at home. His only other foreign language is Latin, which he had in school. From age 9-11, his family lived in Bangalore, India, as his father worked for a major German engineering firm there. When he went there he hardly knew any English, but when he came back he was fluent. There he went to an American international school where all courses were taught in English. Oskar says that this experience had a big influence on him and gave him more of an ‘international culture’. After his stay in India, his family visited the US and Canada. Since then English has not been a regular presence in his life. He has been to England twice: once on a two-week language course and later on a three-week bicycle tour. Oskar is not very enthusiastic about his FU studies. His real passion is film and he is concentrating on making films and getting into film school. He currently works in a large cinema in Berlin.



4.5.5 Steffen

Steffen was born in 1978 and lived in Heidelberg before he moved to Berlin in 1989. He is what you might call an American enthusiast and speaks English with a strong American accent. He started learning English in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade and did not speak English anywhere apart from in school. In the 10<sup>th</sup> grade, subjects in his English courses became more focused on the US and he became more interested in the language. At that time there were also two exchange students from the US at his school whom he later visited for six weeks in the summer before his final year. He says he did not learn his English in school: in those six weeks in the US he learned more than in eight years in the classroom. Since his first trip, Steffen has been to the US two more times, once for two months and once for a month. Steffen’s hobbies are playing the guitar, singing and everything concerning English—travelling, speaking, reading, movies. He even writes songs in English. At the time of his interview, Steffen was studying English Philology (with a concentration on American English) and Special Education to become a teacher. However, he was in the process of changing his degree to a double major in NAS and EP with the hope of someday becoming a linguistics professor. He was also planning to go to the US to work for three months.

4.6 Students’ motivations to study English

The next section of the questionnaire was designed to give insights into students’ motivations for studying an English-related subject. Students expressed many reasons for learning English.

Table 4.7: Top five motivations to study English

Reason	% (n=101)
Knowing English enables me to understand people from other cultures	76%
I love the language and wanted to know more about it	68%
I have a personal connection with an English-speaking culture	58%
It is essential to read a lot of English for my studies.	49%
I have to know English to be able to get a good job	42%

4.6.1 Getting in touch with people from other countries

Students’ number one answer for their interests in the language, a reason that 76% of them provided, is that it allows them to get in touch with people from other countries. Of course this includes people from native English speaking countries, but equally important is the means to

keep up with the international community. Students often claim that they have a multilingual circle of friends, both in Berlin and spread out around the world. For many students, communication with people from around the world is an important motivation to learn and study English. English is even a means for some students to keep up family relations, as the last quote in the list below demonstrates.

- Communication with people from other countries has become important to me and English is our bridge.
- I have friends in America, France, Turkey and Spain and English is the only language that each of us understands.
- I have many English speaking friends who are either native speakers or who use English as a second language.
- Some of my best friends are from all over the world. And so for me it was important to learn English. That is the language all of them speak and so we still write each other very often and can still stay in contact.
- English is a link language to me. I've never learned Korean, so it is hard to make myself understood when my uncle is on the phone. The only way for us to communicate is with the English language.

#### **4.6.2 Personal connection with an English-speaking culture**

Other students specifically mentioned familiar connections with people in English-speaking countries. For them, the English language is a reminder of a time abroad or a connection to family members who no longer live in Germany.

- The most important reason for my loving the language is probably that it reminds me of my year in the States.
- I associate this language with my childhood in America and every time I hear people speak American English I see pictures of the house I lived in or of my kindergarten.
- By learning English, I am 'looking for my roots.' I was born in New York and had to leave the States in my early childhood. So I didn't have the chance to grow up there.
- I have relatives in the US. My aunt can speak German but her husband and children do not. I like to communicate with them but if I did not know the English language, I could not speak to them and could not understand what they say.

### 4.6.3 Liking English

Many students also claimed that they really like the English language, although when probed, they often do not really know why.

E: Would you say that you like English?

A: Yes.

E: Do you know why?

A: No.

E: Did you like it already before you studied it in the UK?

A: Oh yes.

E: Were you good in it at school?

A: Yes and I did a lot at home, I read a lot, I don't know why.

E: Somehow motivated?

A: Yes, I just liked English, funnily. I don't know.

One student reported that she likes English because "it sounds beautiful." This is also part of the attraction for Diane. Here she tries to express why she likes English:

D: I just, I find it, I like it very much, I don't know. It's just like that I like some words in English or like the way it sounds...And I remember when we were like 12 and...we were really looking forward to have English in school. I remember this summer when we were like, 'you know now we're going to start English' and I was really excited about it. I was like, finally I can learn English. And it's never been like this when I knew in 7<sup>th</sup> grade that I had to do chemistry or something. [laugh]

Students' reasons for liking English may have something to do with their global as well as individual associations with the language. The majority (76%) of students agreed that "the English language has something special that connects people." Oskar thinks that the reason English connects people is that it is the language of global pop culture, which everyone is familiar with. Moreover, a large number, 61%, of students agreed that "English sounds cool." Some claim that the language "sounds trendy" or that it "sounds better than German." According to these students,

- English sounds warmer than German, it is shorter, and there are words that don't exist in German.
- I think that English sounds best.

A surprisingly high number of students, 42%, claimed that it is easier to express themselves or their emotions in English. Similarly, 44% agreed that “Sometimes I feel more myself in English than when speaking my own mother tongue.” Here it is not clear whether this openness in English has to do with the fact that language learners often feel that they ‘reinvent’ themselves in another language, or whether the students feel that English-speaking cultures (and perhaps particularly Americans) are more open to talk about emotions and personal experiences. These students report that:

- I feel I can express myself more clearly in English, or more precise.
- Sometimes I even feel more myself in English (maybe I lived in an English-speaking country in my former life).
- It is easier to say emotional things in English because you feel it differently. It is not so intense.
- I can talk about topics that I wouldn’t talk about in German since that doesn’t touch me so much.
- I feel uncomfortable and more free at the same time in English. It is easier to talk about feelings, but I’m scared to make mistakes.
- Ich kann in einer fremden Sprache oft offener über Gefühle und Empfindungen reden. Das gilt aber nicht nur für Englisch.<sup>8</sup>

Other students feel that the act of learning English changed them in some way. Some students claimed that “learning English has made me less German,” while another argued that using English at work has definitely changed him and made him more American. However, most students implied that the language changed them indirectly through international experiences and travel. Indeed 94% of students agree that “Learning English has made me more international” and 70% agree that “Communicating in English has made me more tolerant and open-minded.”

- It doesn’t change me; it just gives me new opportunities to communicate.
- I’ve changed from learning English because I now have friends from all over the world.
- English makes you feel free in other countries and it helps you to be more open to other cultures since you can communicate with foreign people.
- Mastering English improved my self-confidence and ability to approach others.
- Learning English has broadened my horizon. It is a bridge for me to enter other cultures.

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<sup>8</sup> Often I can speak more openly about feelings and emotions in a foreign language. But that’s not restricted to English.

Two of the students interviewed tried to give insight into how the language changed them. Steffen said:

S: I think that I feel like I've become more global maybe. It just like really broadens your horizons, you know, to learn a different language. That's what happened to me, definitely.

Diane noted that

D: I think using different languages is doing something to you. It's not a whole new identity but it's like something else. I think it's doing something on your mental abilities. Like maybe also accepting that there are differences. Yea, in a way you move different. I mean, not your whole body or something. But maybe with your mind.

#### **4.6.4 Academic needs**

One element of students' needs for English has to do with the fact that English is increasingly being used as an academic language (see Hilgendorf and Erling Forthcoming). The dominance of English within the pure and natural sciences is well documented (Ammon 1998; ed 2001; Hilgendorf 2001; Viereck 1996), but until recently German was considered the dominant language of the social sciences and humanities in Germany (Skudlik 1992). Functions of the language are now being expanded and used in more and more disciplines (see Erling In press). In fact, a recent study by Ulrich Ammon and Grant McConnell (2002) illustrates that teaching in institutes of higher learning is yet another domain in which English is on its way to becoming the EU's dominant *lingua franca*.

This increasing use of English is related to the fact that, as Ammon's (2001) edited volume demonstrates, English serves as the international language of science. In almost every discipline, the most important publications appear in English (Coulmas 1985:183) and more than half of the world's science journals are in English today (Salverda 2002:6). Due to this abundance of publications in English, many German journals no longer accept publications in any other language than English. As early as 1991, Ammon (1991b:249) highlights the high percentage of international scientific publications in English, which far outnumber publications in German. This use of English as a written language of academia is done "to further the world-wide diffusion of German research results" (Viereck 1996:21). English has also replaced German as a language of spoken academic communication, as conferences in Germany are usually conducted in English (Hilgendorf 2001). In fact, Ammon (2001:349) maintains that "German is now probably used less



than English, even within the German-speaking countries, for international communication; from some international conferences and journals of the natural sciences it has even come to be totally excluded.” This increase in the use of English in German academia has caused some debate, which will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Considering the fact that their studies are related to the language, it may not be surprising that students of English at the FU require English for their studies. Indeed, 80% of students read English reference books at least once a week (18% daily). However, these students do not only need English in their fields of NAS and EP; competence in the language is required just as much (if not more) in their other subjects, such as Economics, Computer Science, Film Studies, Media Studies and Political Science. Many of these fields are highly influenced by Anglo-American academia and several of the most current reading materials are only available in English. As students noted:

- Understanding English is almost a requirement for studying at a university no matter what subject you study. A lot of scientific essays and some lectures are written or held in English.
- I need English for my studies in political science. It is very interesting to read what people from America or England think about political decisions of German politicians.
- Many brilliant books on economics are written in English and without reading them I cannot finish my studies successfully.
- I need English for film studies because so many texts are in English.

Many students noted that as much as 90% of their university reading has to be in English, while the average of texts in English was 59%. While the need for English is slightly higher for students in the advanced level of study (*Hauptstudium*), this estimate shows that even students in their first three years of study are required to do much academic reading in English.

Table 4.8: Students’ estimates of percentage of readings in English

	<i>Grundstudium</i>	<i>Hauptstudium</i>	Total
Range	20-90%	35-90%	20-90%
Average	49%	65%	59%

### 4.6.5 Employability

It is not only for university that students need mastery in English. They will also need the language for their professional lives. It has been claimed that in Germany “you cannot pursue an international career without English” (Hutton 1999:1) and Hilgendorf (2001:100) notes that “Germans recognize the premier state of English for international business...and have adjusted to the situation accordingly.” The German Education Minister Edelhard Bulmahn advises students that the ability to express oneself in English is a “Schlüsselqualifikation”—a key qualification (quoted in Hanselmann 2001). Accordingly, this survey shows that 79% of students are studying English because the possibility of getting a job will be higher. As students noted in their essays about their uses of English:

- I want to work for an international company eventually, maybe even abroad—preferably in English, so it is very essential for me to be able to communicate with people of other nationalities as English has established itself as the language of business and economics.
- To get a well-paid position in a successful firm, excellent written and oral skills in English are required.

In many professional environments knowledge of English is considered to be an essential requirement for a career with a European or global component, be it in an international organization or a national one with multinational links (Hoffmann 2000:10). In formerly national companies, like BMW, employees at all levels (managers, engineers and even leading blue-collar workers) have to write, e-mail and call colleagues and customers in English (Baker et al. 2001). For jobs in the computer industry, journalism, film, public relations, English is no longer just a benefit but often a necessity.

When students were asked about their career objective, the single most common response (24%) was ‘I don’t know’. However, where specified the most common career choices were related to business, education and journalism, as can be seen in the table below.

**Table 4.9: The six most common career choices among FU students**

<b>%</b>	<b>Career</b>
18%	Something to do with business/economics
13%	Teacher
12%	Journalist
7%	Public Relations
6%	Scientist
5%	Film business

Here the number of students who intend to be teachers seems to be rather low. Of the 1,435 students in the department of EP, 644 (45%) of them are studying to be teachers (FU Berlin Statistic: Studierende Sommersemester 2001), but of students who responded to this survey, only 13% want to become teachers.

Irrespective of what their career preferences are, almost all students (97%) responded that they expect to need English for their professional careers. Many of them have work experience that has reinforced this expectation. Indeed 74% of students work outside of university and of those who work, 60% meet English at work at least once a week:

- While I was studying I worked with a research group of an international company which had its offices in Berlin as well as in Palo Alto. It was a necessity to be fluent in English for tasks as simple as having conversations at lunch.
- In school I never took English as seriously as I should have but when I began to work in a hotel, I realized that English was very important for my career. I began to have fun talking with native speakers and I found out that it was essential knowledge if I wanted to ‘survive’ in a hotel, especially at the front office.

**4.7 The role of English in students’ lives**

As has been demonstrated, students of English at the FU are proficient in the language by the time they get to university and for most of them English plays an important role in their lives, both in- and outside the classroom. An illuminating example of the role of English in the typical student’s life can be seen in this excerpt from a student’s essay:

- I think English is playing a rather important role in my life. If you turn on the radio, most of the songs are in English. If you turn on the computer or surf on the internet, you need

to understand English. At university there are a lot of exchange students from foreign countries and you communicate with them in English. I'm surrounded by English all the time. We have to admit that we adopted quite a lot of English expressions [in German] and therefore, without really recognising it, English plays a major role in our society. Almost everybody has learned English at school (of the younger generation) and it really became a kind of second language in Germany.

- Or:
- Today I can't imagine life without English. I'm studying North American studies and when I hear that there is English spoken somewhere, it's just the most normal thing in the world, almost like when I hear German.

The following section of the questionnaire was designed to find out how much the students in the language centre use English in their private lives. I suspected that they were using English regularly and the following results show how often and in what contexts students use English:

**Table 4.10: The frequency of students' contact with English**

How often do you ...

	once a day	once a week
have a university lecture in English?	3%	83%
speak English at university?	12%	91%
write academically or professionally in English?	26%	70%
read English reference books	18%	80%
read English fiction or poetry?	17%	74%
use the Internet in English?	27%	77%
meet English in computer programmes or other technical products	40%	80%
read in English for pleasure?	18%	70%
read newspapers or magazines in English?	5%	34%
watch original TV shows or movies in English?	7%	45%
meet English at home	12%	58%
speak English in your personal life?	13%	50%
write letters, emails, or other informal texts in English?	12%	51%

In comparison with Preisler’s (2003) study of English use in the Danish population, students of English at the FU speak and write English more than the average Dane, but they do not read English as much as their northern neighbours and they hear English much less often: This is presumably because English television shows in Denmark are not dubbed into Danish and Denmark seems to be generally more saturated by English.

Table 4.11: FU students’ use of English compared to the Danish population

	At least once a day		At least once a week	
	FU students	Danes	FU students	Danes
Speak English	12.5 %	9%	76.5 %	27%
Write in English	19.0 %	4%	60.5 %	12%
Hear English	6.3 %	80%	67.0 %	93%
See/read English	23.8 %	50%	76.8 %	88%

Although English does play an important role in most students’ lives, 55% of the respondents opined that they did not have enough contact with English. This is also something that Oskar brought up in his interview when he said that he has only had two or three lectures given in English so far during his university career and he would have preferred to have more. He reads about 50% of the time in English, mostly American fiction. For film studies, he mostly reads in German, although some texts are in English. He only ever has to speak English if some foreign customers approach him at work. So mostly he keeps up with his English by watching films. Alina also expressed the wish to use English in more of her university courses.

4.7.1 Free time activities

Figures show that a fair number of students meet English in their time outside university: 63% of students said that they had a hobby where English is used. These hobbies include acting in an English drama group, participating in a debate club or an English-speaking club (*Stammtisch*), working in a summer camp, doing crossword puzzles, playing Scrabble, playing basketball, race horse training, listening to English music, writing songs or poetry in English, reading, watching films or television, keeping up with the news, surfing the internet, talking to friends, travelling and being a tour guide for foreigners in Berlin.



#### 4.7.2 Electronic communication and the internet

As can be seen in the above table, the computer is the place where students most often meet English. This study shows that 80% of students use English for their computers (whether in programmes or other technical products) at least once a week while 40% use English in this way daily. This may be because many computer products, such as software and games, are only available in an English version. One student who also studies computer science commented on the importance of English to him:

- As a kid, I needed the language to play computer games, to develop programs and to understand hardware manuals. I was a computer nerd and my success depended on my English. When I started studying computer sciences, there were hardly any books in my native language. It was inevitable that I had to improve my English just in order to study the subject of my choice.

Electronic communication via email and the World Wide Web is also prevalent among students. The table above shows that 27% of students use English on the internet daily while 77% use it weekly. The internet has presented a new medium for students to communicate with people internationally, often in English. Students make use of information and services on the web and make contact with other English users worldwide.

- Young people from all over the world communicate on the internet and I think it is fascinating to chat and discuss about every day life with a friend in Hong Kong or in Lima.

#### 4.7.3 Travelling—Wanderlust

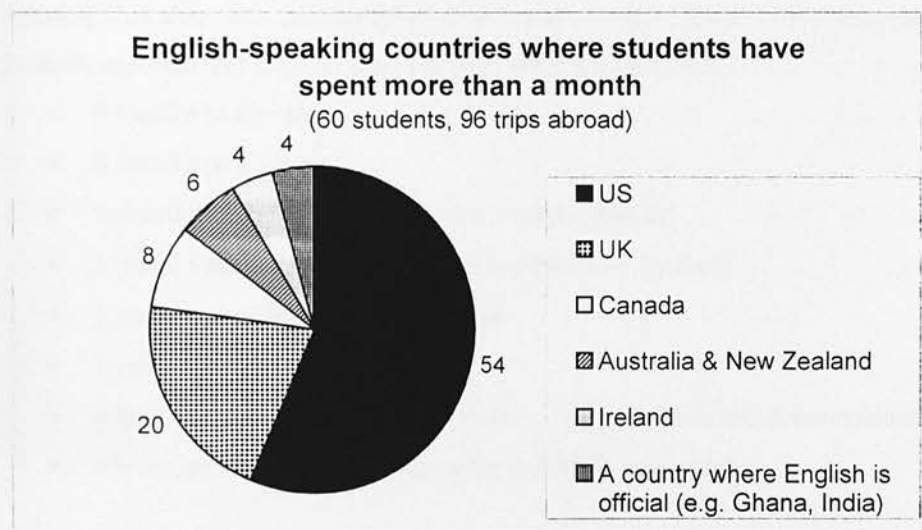
FU students do a lot of travelling. There is a two month break between semesters in both spring and autumn and I often hear of students' plans to go travelling, studying or working abroad. I write many recommendations for students who plan to do such things as a three-month practical training in a hospital in Israel, volunteer work at an NGO for refugees in Geneva, or a teaching assistantship in Ireland. My statistics confirm that 92% of students travel outside Germany at least once a year, mostly for recreational purposes (48%) but also for educational reasons (25%) and 51% leave the country more than once a year. While abroad, 45% claim to use English, but 28% also use French, while only 10% use German (Here it was not specified if they were using German as a lingua franca or with other Germans). Moreover, 97% of students have travelled to an English speaking country. This means that students get ample practice with their foreign languages. Student reactions show that they often need English when travelling abroad:

- Spring holidays abroad, in England, Denmark and Spain require good language skills to survive and to stay in touch with new friends.
- Once I took a trip to France. Having never learned the French language, it was hard for me to communicate. In this case English was an important link language, as well.
- English has an important role to me. Especially when I go on holidays. Even when I am not in England but in Greece, Spain and Italy. I communicate with the people I meet in English. That's the only way to talk when they don't speak German and I don't speak their language. I don't know how to survive in foreign countries without speaking English.
- When I did an exchange programme in Japan, I had to learn to speak English properly because in the first six months I couldn't understand and speak Japanese.

Student mobility is also reflected in the fact that the majority of students surveyed (77%) have been abroad for over a month. Moreover, the longer students study, the more likely they are to have had international experience. While only ten of the respondents had been abroad for more than a year before starting university, thirty-three of them had been abroad for more than a month after two years of studying and sixty-three of them had been abroad for over a month by the time they completed four years of university.

Of those students who have been abroad for over a month, sixty of them (59% of the total population) have stayed in an English-speaking country for over a month. Fifty-four students have stayed in the US; twenty in the UK; eight in Canada; six in Australia and New Zealand; four in Ireland; two in South Africa and four in a country where English is an official language (such as Ghana or India). Moreover, several students have stayed for an extended time in more than one English-speaking country. Thirty-seven have spent more than a month abroad in two different English-speaking countries and four students have spent more than a month abroad in three different English-speaking countries.

Table 4.12: English-speaking countries where students have spent time abroad (n=60)



Some of the things that students have reported that they have undertaken during their time abroad in English-speaking countries include the following:

- 12 months as au pair in Boston
- 4 months internship in New York City
- 6 months working as a camp counsellor in US
- 6 weeks as a volunteer worker in Toronto
- One term school exchange in Scotland
- 12 months studying/teaching in Northern Ireland
- 2 month internship at museum in West Sussex
- 11 months in New Zealand as exchange student

By far the most common experiences students reported were studying or working abroad in ‘inner circle’ (Kachru 1985b) English-speaking environments. However, they also have had experiences (and are having them increasingly) in other countries where English is an official language. These are the most common:

- 3 month volunteer work on an ecological farm in Ghana
- 2 years at American international school in Bangalore
- 1 year working in an English-speaking hospital in Calcutta
- 2 months travelling in South Africa

Many of those who reported that they had lived abroad in a non-English speaking country reported that they also used English in this environment. Some of the experiences for which students reported that English was necessary were the following:

- 2 months in France
- 6 months in Turkey
- 3 month vacation in Mexico (I don't speak Spanish)
- 2 months trekking in Sweden (my Swedish is really bad!)
- 3 months working in the Netherlands
- 1 year in Switzerland
- 6 months in Korea (in the first 3 months I mostly talked and communicated in English)
- life in Germany (I use English at the university everyday)

The data shows that NAS students are slightly more likely to go abroad for an extended period of time than students of EP: 82% of NAS students (40 students) have been abroad to an English-speaking country for more than one month, while only 63% (22 students) of EP students have. Fifteen out of the seventeen students (88%) studying other disciplines have also been abroad for over a month.

One would think that those students who are studying NAS are more likely to have visited the US and those doing EP are more likely to have travelled to the UK. This, however, is not necessarily true. While 22% of all NAS students have spent at least a month in the UK, only 17% of EP students have done this. Moreover, students of both disciplines are also more likely to have spent over a month in the US than in the UK: 63% of all NAS students have been abroad for at least a month in the US, while a lower number of 34% of all EP students have spent time there. These figures show that even for students whose studies focus on the UK, the US is a popular travel or study destination. Perhaps its greater distance from Germany (both geographically and culturally) inspires students to stay longer.

**Table 4.13: Percentage of students who have been abroad for over a month: UK vs. US**

	NAS (n=49)	EP (n=35)	Other (n=17)	Total (n=101)
US	63% (n=31)	34% (n=12)	65% (n=11)	53% (n=54)
UK	22% (n=11)	17% (n=6)	18% (n=3)	20% (n=20)

## **4.8 The presence of English in Berlin**

Although students are generally well travelled, they do not have to wait to go abroad to speak English. Several of them have noted that English is present in their daily lives in Berlin. This means that even the 23% of students who have not been abroad for over a month can reach fluent proficiency in English. While this has not been statistically evaluated, there is no obvious difference in performance between the 41% of students who have not been abroad for over a month and the students that have.

### **4.8.1 English for tourists**

Berlin caters to its tourists and most city services are offered in English. Instructions for the bus and subway system, for example, are given both in English and in German. English cannot only be seen but also heard on almost every bus or subway. The presence of English speakers, at least in the city centre, is noticeable. One student remarked on this:

- People in the street (especially in Berlin!) ask me if I speak English and if I then can help them with something.

Other students work in the tourist industry and use their English to deal with customers. One questionnaire respondent works as a guide and gives tours of the city in English. Another student works in a café in a tourist area and constantly needs English to communicate with visitors from abroad. Students who come from outside Germany note that they often used English in their daily life:

- I came [from Poland] to Germany and I met many people who don't speak German at all—only English.
- In Germany, I use English to communicate with German people or with people from other countries like me [Erasmus student from Italy].

### **4.8.2 Berlin as a major European capital**

The seat of the German national government is in Berlin. Within Germany itself, English has no official status and it is generally not used by the government to communicate with German people. But Germany does not only function as an independent nation; it is also a part of the EU, where English functions as one of the most important languages of government. As of May 2004, the EU consists of 25 member states: Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain and



Sweden. Each of these countries is authorized to request translation or interpretation into one of the twenty official languages of EU, which at the time of writing are Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Lituanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Slovak, Slovene, Spanish and Swedish. Negotiations on membership are in progress with Bulgaria, Romania, and Turkey.

Although in legal terms English is simply one of the 11 official languages of the EU with no special status, it is often reported that English is becoming *the* language of the EU. It has even been claimed that “the EU, despite the official status of other languages and the hordes of translators in Brussels and Luxembourg, is increasingly an English-speaking club” (Carmichael 2000:287) and “fluency in English is a prerequisite for EU employees” (Hoffmann 2000:11). Claude Truchot (2002:17) shows that among officials or experts from Member States, 31% of oral communication and 59% of written communication was done in English. A recent figure shows that two-thirds of the documents that the commission generates are in English (Black 2002:7). In public contexts, there is often simultaneous translation into all official languages, but in more private meetings only the major languages (usually English and French) are used (Melchers and Shaw 2003:181).

The expansion of the EU into the east is predicted to result in an increasing reliance on English in certain domains, as there are now twenty official languages. De Swaan (2001:182) notes that the paradoxical outcome of European expansion is “the more languages, the more English.” Thus, as English is a key language in the context of the EU, it is becoming an essential language in the domains of German politics, which is centred in Berlin.

#### **4.8.3 English in advertising**

German students, like everyone in Germany, are constantly exposed to the English language through advertising. As in Denmark, “[w]ords and messages in English abound everywhere, most conspicuously on shop signs, posters, menus, labels and the like. Advertisements especially are often partially or completely in English, in supermarkets, on the sides of busses, in newspapers and magazines” (Preisler 2003:113). English has been shown to play an extremely important role in shop signs in Europe (Schlick 2003). Therefore it is no surprise that the questionnaire uncovered that 42% of students encounter English in German commercials daily, while 83% encounter it at least once a week. Although many students noted that the use of English in

German texts is annoying (see Chapter 5), 16% of students agreed that the use of English in advertising makes the text more exciting. As Steffen noted in his interview:

S: There's always certain coolness to English words in Germany, definitely... Well, I think a lot of people think it's cool, especially young people... In general, there is a great attraction to everything connected with the States. Because America is so innovative, it's so new and there's a lot of great action and motion. People in the rest of the world want to adopt this and be part of this a little. And that's why I think it's used in commercials; probably it's just a new way to do commercials.

Certain advertisements in Germany play on the combination of English and German to promote their products. Linguistic creativity can be found, for example, in McDonald's advertisements. In promotion of their breakfast menu, this restaurant chain introduced a codeswitched advertising campaign which featured the following phrases:

- About this *Frühstücksei lachen ja die* chickens.  
(Even the chickens are laughing about this breakfast egg)  
*Frühstücksei* = breakfast egg; *lachen* = to laugh
- Have you *schon gebreakfast*?  
(Have you already breakfasted?)
- Please don't *klecker* on your *Hose*!  
(Please don't spill on your trousers!)  
*kleckern* = to make a mess, to spill; *Hose* = trousers

The first two examples above use German syntax and word order, while all three examples employ German lexis. The crucial English lexical elements that have to be understood are *chicken*, *breakfast*, or *please*, none of which are complicated vocabulary items; therefore, they do not make challenging linguistic demands on their target group. However, the reader of such a text must be comfortable with this kind of mixing of languages in order to find it amusing or attractive.

One would perhaps expect to find English in the advertisements of a US company like McDonald's, but to find it in the *Berliner Stadtreinigungsbetriebe* (the Berlin Rubbish and Street Cleaning Authorities) comes as more of a surprise. For example, in 1999 they used the slogan:

- We kehr for you.

This advertisement features two city sweepers holding brooms. The pun, understandable only to speakers of both German and English, is that the verb *kehren*, which means *to sweep*, is pronounced like the English word *care*. This advertisement makes much higher demands on its target audience to understand the humour in the text. Its clever and creative form of advertising is wasted on both monolingual speakers of German, who would not know the phrase “*we care for you*” and on monolingual English speakers, who would not know that this could also mean “*we sweep for you*.” Therefore it can be assumed that the target audience of these advertisements are competent in both English and German.

Figure 4.1: Mixing English and German in advertising: We kehr for you



(From <<http://www.bsr-online.de/2180.html>> [Accessed 20.11.03])

The presence of English in these advertisements implies that basic English is an assumed ability of anyone who may want to buy a hamburger and anyone who gets their trash picked up by the city council. This type of English may not be pure; it may actually be more like German peppered with Anglicisms and formulated with incorrect grammar. But the presence of such English in advertising reinforces the acceptance and further use of such English in society. However, the above examples do not only rely on English for their advertising effectiveness. They depend on knowledge of two languages to be comprehensible. These ads seem to be playing on the ‘coolness’, prestige, or modernity not of English alone but of mixing English into German. What such marketing campaigns show is that it is trendy to speak more than one language or to codeswitch. This type of advertisement is targeting the people who know two languages and do not notice (or at least do not mind) when they are mixed. In this context, the use of English is not so much utilitarian as a sign of prestige due to the social role attributed to it (Truchot 2002:21).

#### **4.8.4 English in Berlin's media and entertainment industry**

James (2000:24) argues that "the most obvious impact that English makes on European life is undoubtedly via its presence in the public domains of the media, including the Internet, advertising, many forms of popular youth culture and popular entertainment." This is also why Berns, de Bot and Hasebrink (Forthcoming) have chosen these domains for their study of English and European youth. In Berlin there is a noticeable presence of English in the media, which students are exposed to and take advantage of. English can be heard daily on the radio, in music, in film and on television. The presence of English as a language used for the enjoyment of cinema and literature is also evident. English is even being used increasingly by German authors and English conversations in fiction are often no longer translated into German. Students seem to take advantage of and enjoy this broad access to English media. They profit from seeing different viewpoints in the media and they benefit from coming in contact with material that would otherwise be unavailable in German. As one student noted,

- You can read books or watch videos which are not available in German.

##### **4.8.4.1 English on the radio and in music**

Most news and dj-ing on German radio is delivered in German (although this German is often peppered with English vocabulary and phrases). However, there are some stations that offer programming in English. In Berlin there is one English-only radio station, the BBC's World Service (90.4). But Radio MultiKulti (106.8) also offers news and music in several foreign languages, including English. One student respondent noted the importance of having access to radio in English, both to tune her listening comprehension skills and to be familiar with other viewpoints.

- I have the chance to consume foreign media like BBC World so that I am able to get another view or opinion of news or world problems.

It is no great surprise to find that 84% of FU students listen to English song lyrics daily. Anyone in Germany who switches on the radio has a very good chance of striking upon some music sung in English and the German top 20 always contain songs in English (Hutton 1999:1). This phenomenon of English songs on the radio is no longer surprising to listeners and even "considered normal by the vast majority of the population in virtually all the European countries" (Ammon 1994:1). But perhaps the presence of English on the radio is even stronger and more accepted in Germany because of the fact that the American Forces Network (AFN), which did all

its broadcasting in English, has broadcast in Germany since 1945 and continued to do so in Berlin until 1993 (AFN History 2001).

Many German singers even have a tendency to compose their songs in English. Ammon (1996:264) notes that a majority of the texts of popular vocal music are written in English, often even by composers of other language communities. The reason that German pop groups write and sing in English may be in order to reach a wider audience, as their goal is to be successful internationally. But some songwriters claim that it is easier to write lyrics in English or that it is easier to express one's feelings in English. Hilgendorf (2001:148-149) cites two different examples of German singers who prefer to write their music in English: one because she claims it is more flexible and easier to express herself in English, and the other because he feels that the domain of rock music is primarily an English-language one.

In fact, it seems as if singing English is a criterion for being a pop star in Germany. The docu-soap television show called *Popstars*, which broadcasts the auditions of several German youth pop star wannabes, requires its contestants to sing in English. The winners of 2001's show, the band the New Angels, made their way in English with the hit "Daylight in your eyes." In 2002, the show produced a new band called Bro'Sis (a combination of the words brothers and sisters) who also sing their songs in English—"I believe" and "Do you", for example. This 'German' pop group consists of singers from a mixture of backgrounds—Indian/German, African-American/German, Italian/German, British, Israeli and Kenyan. Not only does English seem to be a given trend in the charts but also an image of multiculturalism, which this band projects, even with their album title *Never forget (where you come from)*.

In Germany, Hip Hop is another genre of music in which English is used, often alongside German as well as other languages. There are quite a few German Hip Hop bands (*Die Fantastische Vier*<sup>9</sup>, *Freundeskreis*, *Söhne Mannheims*, *Seed*) who deliver their rhymes not only in German, but also in English, French, Turkish or a combination of them all, as one can see in the following text:

- Yoyo Berlin, was geht? What's up, companeros? Que pasa eh?<sup>10</sup> (cited in Maxeiner 2001).

Another example of the English used in Hip Hop can be seen in this excerpt from a song by the rapper Böttcher:

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<sup>9</sup> This band's name seems to be a bilingual joke on the 'Fab Four'.

<sup>10</sup> Yoyo Berlin, how's it goin'? "What's up, companeros [friends]? Que pasa [what's up] eh?"



Ich der rastlose Wanderer chat im Net/ check die Netiquette/ hack was aus, browse weiter in die Usenet Newsgroups/ Cruis' durch FAQ's von Jesus, Jusos, Usergroups<sup>11</sup> (cited in Alexander et al 2001:163).

Many FU students note their preference for music in English. Some even said that it was their love for music which motivated them to learn English. Diane noted that

D: I love music and I always loved music. And the one that has influenced me is English. And I always wanted to know what, I mean, lyrics, like poetry or whatever, what is it about. So it's a nice melody and everything but I also want to understand. So I really sat down and translated songs.

Those who write or perform music in English themselves mentioned why. Diane, for example, plays in a band with some friends and they perform most of their music in English:

D: German is sometimes pretty rough like and it's not... poetry, for example, or for songs. I find it difficult. I'm doing music with some friends of mine and in German I find it really hard to sing in German or to express myself. To make it rhyme ... but maybe just because we're not so used to it as well I'm sure.

Other students reflect similarly on the use of English for the music they enjoy:

- I love music and listen almost only to songs with English texts. And it's important for me to know English because I want to understand what the artist sings and how he/she feels.
- I prefer to listen to English songs than listen to German songs. It sounds more fluent than German. English reminds me of freedom, sunshine, etc., because it's spoken in the USA, which is my favourite country.
- I like American music. There is so much and the best is over there. I don't have one German album in my collection. There's not a whole lot of music in German, well good music.

English may also simply be a mask used to cover trite or bad lyrics that would be uncovered quicker if they were in German. Perhaps many performers prefer to express schmaltzy sentimentality in English. Or as Steffen noted, English is a mask to hide behind and it does not feel so exposing to express himself in English:

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<sup>11</sup> I the restless wanderer chat in the Net/ Check the netiquette/ hack something up, browse further in the Usenet Newsgroups/ Cruise through the FAQs from Jesus, Jusos, Usergroups.

S: I feel English is, I don't know, it just sounds nicer to say it in English. I don't know because German is a very harsh language too, I feel, and um, I don't know, it just fits better to the music. And probably because I also kind of can hide between English in a way because if I write then my lyrics, if I write lyrics, are for sure personal and um, so I can kind of hide between or behind them a little. Because if I, I don't know, perform and play a song like for some people, they might not, um, understand everything, which is maybe something I want sometimes, I don't know.

#### 4.8.4.2 English on television, video and film

English language television shows and films shown on German television are generally dubbed into German. In fact there is no state-funded television channel that does not dub all their foreign language programming into German. Although there is an abundance of American programmes on television—82% of programmes aired in Europe are produced in the US (cited in Field 1998:4)—programmes in English on German television are rare. The language of MTV or other music television programmes is also predominantly German. VJs use many English phrases and music-specific vocabulary words in their speech and they also sometimes conduct interviews in English with their guests, although these are mostly translated (or at least subtitled) into German. However, there are other cable channels easily accessible in Germany (Sky, BBC World, CNN) which are broadcast in English. There is also a cable channel called *Premiere World* (note the English name<sup>12</sup>), which offers viewers the choice between viewing dubbed versions of their films or the original in English.

The popularity of English terms and phrases on German television can be noticed by just scanning a Berlin television programme guide. On any Saturday afternoon, viewers can sit down in front of their televisions in Germany and watch *Top of the Pops* (in German but often with special guests who speak English and are subtitled), *Love Stories* (about relationship traumas), or *Talk Talk Talk* (a synopsis of the 'highlights' of several German- and English-speaking talk shows, including *Jerry Springer*)<sup>13</sup>. This demonstrates that German TV shows market themselves with English titles even when the content is all German. Those who watch such programmes may be attracted to English names, as they may seem more modern, trendy and new. Since these programmes are often take-offs of American or British versions, an English name may be

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<sup>12</sup> Although *premiere* derives from French, it is now also an English word.

<sup>13</sup> A more comprehensive account of the presence of English in German television programmes has been carried out by Hilgendorf (2001).

employed to illustrate that the show is somehow different from other, more traditional German programmes.

Like everywhere else in the world, Hollywood films receive the largest audiences in Germany. According to Hilgendorf (2001:156) three-quarters of the film revenue earned within the European Community went to American companies. Most of the films playing at the cinema or available on video are dubbed into German. However, students who want to watch English films can access them fairly easily. Several video rental shops stock films in the original English version and there are at least two video rental stores in Berlin that specialize in original English videos. In addition, with the rise of DVDs, the option of viewing the film in the original is always given. But if students go out to the cinema, Berlin has several cinemas which show films in the English original—both with and without subtitles. After surveying one of the city's biweekly events magazine, *Zitty*, I found that out of around 80 cinemas, there are at least 20 that sometimes show films in their original language and three cinemas exclusively screen films in English without subtitles. There seem to be two types of cinemas that have films in English: small, independent cinemas that screen all their non-German films in the original language and large cinemas located in tourist areas where several films in the English original are shown, although most films shown are dubbed in German. At this type of cinema, German films may even be shown with English subtitles for the benefit of the tourist. For example, the German film *Goodbye Lenin* was shown in the city's downtown cinema with English subtitles. Whether at home or at the cinema, FU students of English obviously enjoy watching films in English: 62% of students watch English films with German subtitles at least once a month (7% daily) and 90% watch English films without subtitles at least once a month (9% daily).

Another special feature of Berlin is that it hosts an international film festival, second only to the Cannes festival in Europe. Once a year in February, there are two weeks of film debuts from around the world. At this time, many of the films are in English or shown with English subtitles. In fact, Truchot (1997:69) noted that more than 90% of the films shown at the 1996 Berlin International Film Festival were shown in English. Many tourists visit this event and because of the internationality of the festival, all openings and lectures are hosted in both English and German.

#### 4.8.4.3 Other entertainment in English

Not only cinemas, but also theatres in Berlin host English-speaking programmes. There is even an all English-speaking theatre in the city with the ironic name Friends of Italian Opera (<[www.thefriends.de](http://www.thefriends.de)>). This theatre, which specializes in fringe theatre in English, regularly shows productions and hosts theatre groups from the UK, the US, Australia, South Africa and Ireland.

Apart from this, Berlin also boasts its own English- (or Denglisch-) speaking comedian, who presents her work in a comical mix of German and English. The American born Gayle Tufts has made herself famous by codeswitching between English and German. Her entertainment is based on her own experiences and observations of everyday life as a foreigner in Berlin. Apart from regular performances in comedy venues around Berlin, Tufts performs a weekly radio spot for Radio Multikulti in Berlin and writes a biweekly column for the *Handelsblatt* newspaper (<[www.gayle-tufts.de](http://www.gayle-tufts.de)>).

In addition to theatre and comedy, one can observe the presence of English in the realm of classical music. Three of Berlin's major conductors are English speakers. Sir Simon Rattle joined the world renowned Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in 2002 and is celebrated as the first British conductor to hold this post. Kent Nagano, an American, is the conductor of the German Symphony Orchestra in Berlin and Simon Halsey, an Englishman is the conductor of the German Rundfunk Choir in Berlin.

#### 4.8.4.4 English newspapers, magazines and books

The majority of newspapers that are printed and distributed in Berlin are in German and, in comparison, the amount of English language press is insignificant. Nevertheless, there is a wide availability of English-language newspapers and magazines in Berlin, as nearly every major kiosk sells English-language newspapers. It is relatively easy to find a copy of the *Herald Tribune*, *USA Today*, *The Guardian* and the European editions of *Newsweek* and *Time*. The *Herald Tribune* even contains a German interests section from the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, which boasts over 75,000 readers in Germany. Berlin also has its own biweekly English newspaper called *the Ex-Berliner* (<[www.xberliner.com](http://www.xberliner.com)>). As noted on the paper's website, the intended audience for *the Ex-Berliner* includes the city's international residents, as can be inferred from the paper's title which makes reference to expatriates, but the paper is also designed for tourists and people in Berlin on business, as well as Germans who speak English.

There are at least five English bookstores in Berlin, but most large bookstores, especially those centred around tourist attractions or universities, usually have a large English-language section. Moreover, there are several large libraries in Berlin and many of them have a large stock of English books and videos. For example, the Amerikanisches Gedenk Bibliothek (the American Memorial Library), a library that commemorates the American airlift during the Berlin Blockade (1948-49), has a large stock of English newspapers, magazines, journals, books and videos. Berlin also has a large British Council office in its centre, which offers a large selection of English sources (<[www.britcoun.de/e/Berlin/infocent.htm](http://www.britcoun.de/e/Berlin/infocent.htm)>).

These two excerpts from interviews with Alina and Steffen show how much students read in English and how they take advantage of the access to English literature in Berlin:

A: If I read, I read English, and I try to read a lot, so.

E: You mean novels, or?

A: Yes, I like them. And I always buy them when I'm there or I'm buying them at Amazon.

E: Like what kind of things?

A: I don't know, like Zadie Smith, I love that one. John Irving, I mean he's not British, but, whatever really. I like the cover and I like the story.

E: Do you read American newspapers or magazines?

S: Not right now. I had a subscription to *the International Herald Tribune* a while back.

E: And what kind of stuff do you read?

S: Uh, all kinds of stuff. Right now I'm reading a couple of books. Like a book on Bill Clinton and a book on sociolinguistics. Also some fiction by some Welsh writer.

E: Are these things you have to read for university?

S: I don't have to read them for university. I mean the sociolinguistics book, I don't have to read it but it's good for me to read because I've thought about taking a lot more sociolinguistics classes.

E: Do you ever read the German translations?

S: I must admit that I haven't been reading a book in German for a long time. So I usually read it in English. Because I feel like, you know, I like to read a lot, so why not read in English and practise.



#### 4.8.4.5 Creative writing in English

Although no extensive body of literature in English exists in Germany, such as in ‘outer circle’ contexts like Nigeria or India, there are a significant number of English texts written in Germany. As discussed above, there is an overwhelming presence of English songs on the radio and German bands write and perform their songs in English. Additionally, as has been established, increasingly more Germans write in English for academic purposes. If Germans are writing academically in English, using English for lingua franca communication and constantly hearing and sometimes writing English songs, there is reason to think that there may soon be an emergence of Germans who write creatively in English. Modiano (2001:343) points out that cultural artefacts are being created in English by nonnative speakers and that in Europe it is becoming commonplace to write in English: “Across the board, from film to music to literature, there is an increasing number of cultural artefacts which are not produced in the native tongue of the artists responsible for the expression.”

Indeed there is a noteworthy presence of English creative writing in Germany. First of all, there are English-speaking creative writers who live in Berlin and express themselves in English. In fact, Susan Sontag, the American literary critic who won the German Bookseller Association’s Peace Prize in 2003, occasionally makes her home in Berlin. Other English-writing authors in Berlin include the Pulitzer Prize winner Jeffrey Eugenides, Kapka Kassabova (the recipient of the Berlin-New Zealand Creative Writers’ Award), Joyce Hackett, Rachel Seiffert and John Hartley Williams. Eugenides, who lives with his family in Berlin as a guest of the German academic Exchange programme, weaves scenes from Berlin into his most recent book *Middlesex*. Williams, whose book jacket describes him as “an English poet marooned in Berlin, where he has lived for nearly 20 years,” has written several poems about life in Berlin and often mixes German and English:

You my *geliebte* Elvira, my little *Eck-kneipe*,

My *Brücke der Einheit* across which spies are exchanged,  
you are my summer residence by Friedrich Schinkel,

out of Hohenzollern summers & Prussian flatness, you are  
the *treffendes Angebot* I find whenever I take a step...

(Williams 1994:18)

But it is not only writers who originate from abroad that are making use of English expressions in their writing. The Austrian poet Ernst Jandl also plays with language and occasionally incorporates English in German phonology into his texts:

ich was not yet  
in brasilien  
nach brasilien  
wulld ich laik du go

wer de wimen  
arr so ander  
so quait ander  
denn anderwo

(Jandl 1998:121)

Moreover, in Berlin, there are several contemporary authors who are seen as “the generation of 1989 and the fall of the Wall” (Fitzgerald 2003) and whose narrative contexts often require the use of English in their writing. The Berlin author Ingo Schulze, for example, titled his most recent book *Simple Storys*. In an interview about this work, the reporter asked Schulze why he used an English word (story) with an incorrect plural for the title. Schulze’s response was that *story* is “not an English word anymore...The Americanisation of the spoken German language is a fact of life nowadays” (Koohn 2002:7). While German does not normally form plurals with –s (except in the case of loanwords and some proper names), the –s is perceived and intended as an English plural morpheme; however, the rule for changing the final –y to –ie before adding –s has been disregarded.

It is not only in the title of Schulze’s work where one can find English expressions. For example, in cases where the author creates a dialogue in English between a German-speaking character and a non-German-speaking character, this dialogue is not translated into German, but simply left in the original. When asked about his use of English in this book, Schulze replied that he uses English “because that’s the way people speak in real life and I wanted to be true to reality. My dialogues had to sound right” (Koohn 2002:7). An example of this can be found in the following

scene where a German couple are staying for a summer in New York and they are visited by an American:

„Sir? Excuse me, Sir?“ Eine hoh klare Männerstimme. „I’m Robert Vanderbilt from Palmer Real Estate, Sir, would you open the door, please?“ Der Spion is verschraubt. „Mister“, ruft er, „Mister...Beyer. I have to take some photos of Mr. Sullivans<sup>14</sup> apartment, Sir. I’ll pass my card under the door, okay, Sir?“

Die Visitenkarte von Robert D. Vanderbilt erscheint vor meinen Zehen.

„Sir, would you please open the door, please?“ (Schulze 1998:173-174)

The author Judith Hermann also intersperses English dialogues within her German text. The story “Die Liebe zu Ari Oskarsson”, for example, involves relationships between German and Norwegian characters in Norway. Conversations between these characters often take place in English. For example:

Wir fahren los, Caroline fuhr, Sikka saß neben ihr, Ari Oskarsson setzte sich neben mich auf die Rückbank und nam meine Hand. Er sagte «I love the Germans. I hate the Germans. For sure I hate the Germans», Sikka drehte sich nach uns um und schrie «Christmasmusic!» Aus dem Autoradio schepperte eine Art von Kaufhausmusik. Ich zog meine Hand weg. Ich sah an Ari Oskarssons Gesicht vorbei in die pechschwarze Tromsøer Nacht hinaus, ich sah ihn an. Sikka sagte «Left. Right. Nononono, left, excuse [sic] me», und Caroline sagte erstaunlich gelassen «Don’t worry», als würde sie immerzu extrem betrunkene Leute durch die Gegend fahren (Hermann 2003:297-98).

Or in the following scene where German characters recount their experiences with Norwegians that took place in English. Here the dialogue is primarily in German, although the characters recount their interactions with the Norwegians as they occurred, in English:

«Ich habe zu dieser Frau *let’s fuck together* gesagt», sagte Owen, er sah erstaunt aus. Caroline sagte «Oh», und Owen sagte «Tatsache. Ich habe *let’s fuck together*<sup>15</sup> gesagt, in diesem Schlafzimmer, sie lag im Bett, und ich saß auf der Bettkante». «Wo war ich da?» sagte ich, und Owen sagte, ich hätte mit Ari Oskarsson geküßt, extrem lange, die ganze Zeit. «Und was hat sie gesagt?» sagte Caroline, aufgeregt wie ein Schulmädchen. «Sie hat *no* gesagt», sagte Owen. Sie hat *no*, *I love my husband* gesagt, und ich habe gesagt *your*

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<sup>14</sup> Note the lack of apostrophe.

<sup>15</sup> Here it is interesting that this character is so shocked at his ability to say something as bold as “let’s fuck together”. It could be the use of a foreign language that allowed him to summon the courage to say that, although he was also drunk.

*husband is an asshole*, und sie hat gesagt *but I love him*.» Er krümmte sich zusammen und schrie kurz auf. «Mann! Ihre Haut war so weich, und sie sah so schön aus ohne Brille, und ich wollte sie wirklich ficken, und sie sagte *I love my husband!* Stellt euch das vor!», wir konnten uns das nicht vorstellen (Hermann 2003:312).

Tanja Dückers, another contemporary Berlin author (who studied North American Studies at the FU), describes the club and party scene in Berlin's trendy area, Prenzlauer Berg. Her novel, *Spielzone* (2000), uses the language of the youth scene and therefore includes many English expressions, both in the language of the characters and in the language of narration. Here I have listed but a few English phrases from the novel, underlining the English words and commenting on their Germanization where appropriate:

### Nouns

- Laura legt ihre Hände auf Marios breite Schultern, er hat jetzt ein rotes Muscle-Shirt an. (185)
- „War doch echt ein cooles Bad-Taste-Bild, mußt du zugeben“ (206)  
[note Germanized capital nouns]
- Manchmal vergißt sie, daß es nicht nur Nightpeople gibt... (204)  
[note the merged compound noun that is capitalized]
- „...komm, Laura, keine Trauer-Omme schieben, ich hab Hunger und brauch'n bißchen mexican food.“ (188)  
[here the adjective 'mexican' has been Germanized and has dropped its English capitalized form when it appears in German. It is not clear why the author chose not to capitalize the noun 'food' in this context.]

### Adjectives

- Sie weiß gar nicht, ob sie jetzt total happy sein soll oder nicht...(185)
- „Komm, heute ist dein großer Tag, bist du ready?“ (182)
- „Komm, wir gehen, so cosy finde ich es hier auch nicht.“ (186)
- „jemand wie Ada findet solche Leidenschaftsanfälle völlig uncool“ (196)

In all the above examples, the English adjectives are used as predicate adjectives and therefore do not take any German forms of agreement.

This brief description of the use of English in creative settings in Berlin demonstrates that the language is often used creatively. There is a wealth of English literature available in Berlin and, as has been shown, authors increasingly use the language as an expression of the current cultural setting of Berlin.

#### **4.9 The use of English in everyday German**

Students not only encounter English in their academic career, during their education and at work and during their free time, they also experience English in their own language. A number of influences from English are observable in German, especially in the lexis. English words like *Shopping*, *Event* and *Statement* have largely cancelled out their German equivalents and terms like *slow-motion*, *last-minute* and *Highlights* have usurped homegrown words (McCrum 2001). Certain English words and phrases from English have been adapted into German and in many cases, English has been “nativized to suit Germany’s particular sociolinguistic needs” (Berns 1988:42). The excessive adoption of English loanwords into German has been nicknamed ‘Denglisch’. English abounds in certain domains and texts which codeswitch between English and German are relatively common.

Much of the work on the presence of English in German has been in reference to the presence of Anglicisms in German. Since the end of World War II, linguists have been recording traces of Anglicisms in the German language (e.g. Berns 1988; Busse and Görlach ed 2002; Carstensen and Busse 1993; Clyne 1992; Hilgendorf 2001; Viereck 1980). The presence of English in German was first strongly felt when the Allies occupied various parts of Germany. In the last twenty years, however, with the growth of the computer industry, internet, satellite television and travel, the presence of English in German has become even more obvious.

Although there has been a significant influx of English lexis into Germany, research has shown that German texts have not been syntactically influenced by the English language (House 2001), although this is still being monitored. Moreover, the number of Anglicisms that can be found in a text varies greatly according to the text type, but the domains of German where English words and expressions are used are growing, as more public domains become internationalized. According to Michael Clyne (1992:128), the areas where English is often used are sports, technology, information science, tourism, advertising, journalism, economics, politics, the armed forces, cosmetics, entertainment and medicine. The various types of Anglicisms used in German



can be classified as borrowings, hybrids, pseudo-loans (Viereck 1996), semantic transfers (Clyne 1992) and nativization (Kachru 1992a).

#### 4.9.1 Borrowings—lexical transfers /loanwords

Borrowings are English words that are transferred just as they are from English into German<sup>16</sup>. However, most borrowings undergo some phonological and orthographic changes when used in German. Recent English additions to German are numerous and include:

##### 4.9.1.1 Nouns

*Administration, Baby, Brainstorming, Charter, Club, Comeback, Date, Deal, Entertainment, Establishment, Event, Fan, Feedback, Feeling, Groupie, Happening, Highlights, Hotline, Image, Jet, Jetlag, Job, Kids, Know-how, Layout, Location, Lover, Make-up, Manager, Meeting, Pick-up, Power, Rave/Raver, Sale, Service, Shopping, Song, Snob, Statement, Story, Stretching, Team, Ticket, Trend*

Nouns form the largest class of loanwords (commonly over 80%) and most of these are terms taken over as names for new things, inventions and concepts (Görlach 2002d:7). All the above nouns have been nativized in German, which can be seen in the fact that they are capitalized like all other German nouns, they have been allocated a gender and they inflect to show case and number.

In German, the most common plural ending form is *-en* or *-n*. Some nouns, especially those that have recently been imported from English, take an *-s* ending in the plural just like their English originals. Several of the nouns listed above take English plural endings, like *Dates, Managers, or Events*. However, sometimes plurals for English nouns are formed incorrectly according to English grammar (as with *Babys* and *Storys*). Other plurals are formed with the *'s* possessive form instead of the *-s* plural ending, for example in the text below from the *Gadebuch-Rehnaer Zeitung*, where DJ is pluralized as DJ's. This may represent the increasing insecurity about apostrophe use in English, which is intensified by its international use.

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<sup>16</sup> A list of expressions that the VDS lists as unnecessary or avoidable English is available at [http://vdsev.de/denglisch/anglizismen/anglizismen\\_a.php](http://vdsev.de/denglisch/anglizismen/anglizismen_a.php) [Accessed 17.12.01]. The *Deutsche Sprachwelt* has also published a dictionary of 'real' German versions of English expressions (Paulwitz and Micko 2000).

Nouns ending in *-en*, *-el* or *-er* do not usually take a plural ending in German. Therefore, English loanwords that end in *-er* have often been Germanized in that they do not take the *-s* plural marker but are left unmarked according to German standards. This nativized pluralization can be seen in two signs spotted in Berlin:

- *Poetry Slam: Slammer welcome*  
(Using the German plural, this sign does not welcome one slammer, but many.)
- *Weniger Raver. gleicher Spaß*  
(After the Love Parade in 2002, this announcement boasted that there had been fewer ravers than in the previous year, but still the same amount of fun.)

#### 4.9.1.2 Adjectives

*clever, cool, fair, happy, last-minute, live* (often misspelled as *life*, as in *life music*, because of the German tendency to devoice final consonants), *ready, sexy, slow motion, strange, uncool, up to date*

Most English adjectives that are used in German appear as predicate adjectives and therefore do not inflect to agree with the noun they describe:

- *Die Frau war ganz strange.*

However, some adjectives can be used attributively, in which case they agree with the following noun, just like German adjectives:

- *Er ist ein cleverer Junge* (adjective agrees with noun)

These adjectives also inflect in their comparative and superlative forms:

- *Das war die coolste Party der Welt* (the superlative form)

#### 4.9.1.3 Verbs

*canceln, chatten, downloaden, emailen, flirten, kidnappen, managen, recyceln, relaxen, skaten, sponsern, sprayen, updaten*

Verbs from English are usually nativized to take the German *-en* verb ending. Most of these verbs also receive the regular past participle with the prefix *ge-* and the *-t* ending with:

- *Der Konzert wurde gecancelt.*
- *Wir haben uns ein paar mal geemailt.*

There is a rather new expression in German, *gefaked*, which comes from the English past participle *faked*. I have never seen it written so I do not know how it is spelled. At present, this expression only tends to be used as the past participle either in the perfect or as a predicative adjective.

- *Sie haben das gefaked.*
- *Ihr Styl ist so gefaked.*

It remains to be seen if this word will take on normal verb function and if an expression like *Sie faken das* will ever be heard.

#### 4.9.1.4 Other expressions

*Hi* and *hey* have become common greetings, which, in some circles, are more common than the German *Hallo*, *Grüß Dich* or *Guten Tag*. The abbreviated *Sorry* is often used as both a replacement for *es tut mir Leid* (I am sorry) and *Entschuldigung* (excuse me). The exclamation *wow* is also heard. Swearwords, like *Shit* (which is capitalized) and *fuck* (also the Germanized versions *Schitt/Schitte* and *fack*), are also common. One can hear the expression *kein Scheiss* as a literal translation of *no shit*, although interestingly enough, not the expression *kein Shit*. One can even hear expressions like *whatever* or *anyway* as conversational fillers. It is also not rare to hear the expression *just for fun*.

#### 4.9.2 Hybrids, pseudo-loans and semantic transfers/calques

Hybrids are created from a combination of a German and an English word, for example: *Livesendung*, *Powerfrau*, *Reiseboom*.

Pseudo-loans are quasi-English words and phrases that have been coined from English lexical material. These are generally thought to be English expressions by German speakers but are not used in English contexts outside of Germany. Pseudo-loans include: *Dressman* (male model), *Evergreen* (golden oldie), *Flipper* (pinball machine), *Handy* (mobile phone), *Happyend* (happy ending), *Oldtimer* (veteran car), *Servicepoint* (information desk), *Shakehands machen* (to shake someone's hand), *Showmaster* (show host) and *Twen* (person aged 20-29).

A semantic transfer or calque occurs when English meanings are transferred to existing German words. This means that pre-existing German words acquire new meanings when they are used in

an English-like phrase. For example, the words *Drogen* (drugs) and *Szene* (scene) had existed long before in German, but because of the English phrase ‘drug scene’, they are now used together in an (originally) non-German construction: *Drogenszene* (drug scene). Other examples include *feuern* (which no longer only means to fire a weapon, but also to fire someone from job), *das Beste aus etwas machen* (to make the best of something), *Haben Sie einen schönen Tag* (have a nice day), instead of *Ich wünsche Ihnen einen schönen Tag* and *Sinn machen* (to make sense), instead of the original German expressions *Sinn ergeben* or *Sinn haben*.

There is also some evidence of grammatical calquing in German. Gunnel Melchers and Philip Shaw (2003:190) note that people have started to take on the use of the English preposition *in* and use expressions like *in deutsch* in German instead of *auf deutsch*. One can also now hear the preposition *in* with dates along with the standard German equivalent. *1999 habe ich das gemacht* or *Im Jahre 1999* were previously considered to be the only correct forms of giving dates, but now, because of the influence of English, one can also hear:

- *In 1999* habe ich das gemacht.

#### 4.9.3 Nativization: Denglisch

Denglisch (also known as Gerlish, Deutschlish or Engleutsch) can be described as the increased incorporation of English words and phrases into the German language. It has been described as neither correct German nor correct English and thus often has pejorative associations (as will be discussed further in the following chapter). Denglisch can also be defined as what happens when a German who does not speak very good English tries to have a conversation and winds up using German syntax mixed with English words, or the German of an English speaker whose German is quite basic, so this speaker relies quite heavily on English vocabulary as backup. On their website, the Association for the German Language (VDS) negatively describes Denglisch as “einen inhaltlich unklaren, regelarmen und deshalb ausdruckschwachen Wortmischmasch aus deutschen und englischen Wörtern.”<sup>17</sup> The press has even jokingly called Denglisch BSE, or Bad Simple English (von Törne 2001). The following is an example of a Denglisch text. The following two texts have not been translated, as it is their linguistic form and not their content which is interesting:

Es „beamte“ und „switchte“, es ging um kreative „Power“ und das Bestreben, das Beste noch zu „toppen.“ Was bloß normal war, wurde „gehypt“, bis es „hip“ wurde und

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<sup>17</sup> A mishmash of German and English words whose content is unclear, lacking in rules and therefore poor in its powers of expression.

irgendwie „kickte.“ Bloß keine „Downer“, Vorsicht vor dem „Bashing“ durch Miesmacher, „in Charge“-sein hieß ranpowern bis zum „Burn-out“ (in Alexander et al 2001:160).

Other contemporary examples of Denglish are collected by language purification societies and presented in their newspaper as contestants for the ‘Sprachpanser’—or language debaser—of the year. The following example, in which I have underlined the expressions that come from English, was collected from the *Gadebusch-Rehnaer Zeitung*, 6. May 2002.

Vom 24. bis 26. Mai fand in Schwerin die mecklenburgische Jugendmesse statt. Sie trug den Titel „young:generation.mv.“ Man wollte über Bildung, Jobs, Trends, Sports, Lifestyle informieren und darüber hinaus zum Mitmachen und Ausprobieren animieren. Am Freitag gab es eine Start-up-Werkstatt mit dem Internet-Planspiel für Schüler, am Samstag „Stars, Promis und Kaviar.“ Eines der Highlights der gesamten Messe war die Autogrammstunde des weiblichen VIVA-VJ’s Sarah Kuttner. Mit etwas Glück konnte man ein „Meet&Greet“ mit dem VIVA-Star gewinnen.

Wem das aber nicht reichte und wer selbst entdeckt und vielleicht sogar berühmt werden wollte, konnte an einem großen Casting und Fotoshooting teilnehmen. Zum ersten Mal gab es dieses Jahr im Outdoor-Bereich eine riesige „Chill-Out-Zone“, wo die angesagtesten DJ’s und frische Drinks zum Entspannen bzw. Relaxen einluden. Live-Bands und Breakdancer [note German plural] traten auf, und man wählte die Miss „young:generation.mv 2002.“ Auch Computerfreaks und Sprayer [note German plural] kamen auf ihre Kosten (Stars, Promis, Kaviar für Young Generation 2002).

#### 4.9.4 Codeswitching<sup>18</sup>

Many people have speculated about why English expressions have become so popular in German. They mention the need or necessity to import English words into German due to a lack of appropriate vocabulary to describe technological advances or imports from American culture: “A normal person can, as a rule, not even avoid using such loans actively, since for many of them there are no equivalent indigenous alternatives in the receiving language, or at least none which are commonly used” (Ammon 1994:2). However, for other words, such as *Baby*, a German word exists (*Seugling*), but it is no longer in common use, so the explanation of necessity does not explain the use of this loanword.

<sup>18</sup> Some scholars differentiate between codeswitching (switching languages) and codemixing (switching languages within a sentence) (e.g. Sridhar 1996). Because I am addressing a societal phenomenon, I have used the more general term codeswitching.



Some scholars have suggested that people may like a certain English word or phrase because it is shorter (as in 'sex-appeal' instead of *geschlechtliche Anziehungskraft*) or because the English word may also seem more precise. English may also be used to provide a comic or playful touch or to be more creative or varied in expression (see Galinsky 1967). Berns (1988) and Ammon (1994) have noted that people who use English words might be seen as more international, well travelled, or better educated and that the use of Anglicisms puts on a superficial air of education, gives a sense of worldliness, or shows that the user is up-to-date (Ross 1997). The use of English is claimed to provide a code which symbolizes modernism and elitism (Kachru 1992a), has 'snob appeal' (Görlach and Schröder 1985), or seems more youthful and trendy. English expressions have also been associated with latest developments in the fields of science, business, pop music, cinema (Ross 1997) or with an American atmosphere or setting (Galinsky 1967).

But the use of English in Germany has outstripped the borrowing of words from English and many speakers' uses of English expression signals a certain degree of bilingual competence. There are many people who use English every day—at work, in their leisure time and maybe even at home, so they are used to switching between both languages. They may also be used to communicating with people who understand both languages and so they know that they do not have to bother translating everything into German. As Preisler (2003:111) mentions, concentrating only on the need or function of English loans in a language ignores the social function of language: The use of English is "a reflection of changing social and cultural alliances in the population" and thus is "a value symbol through which speakers position themselves socially and culturally in relation to their surroundings."

In this sense, the linguistic activity of using English may be an example of 'codeswitching', the term used to identify "alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation" (Myers-Scotton 1993:1). Codeswitching can often be observed at the FU where students of EP and NAS know that their peers all possess an advanced level of English and they can thus feel free to pepper their class discussions with English words and phrases which they have read in their literature. They know that all the other students understand what they mean when they say "imagined community," "filmic memory" or "fiscal equities" and therefore do not bother switching into German. This codeswitching carries over into their personal discussions with colleagues and does not stop when they go home and talk to other friends or family members who they know also speak some level of English. In some contexts, the situation in Germany is

becoming more like in Singapore, for example, where speakers are used to mixing languages. As one student commented:

- German has adopted so many English words into its language that some people start to speak kind of mixture of English and German. It is becoming normal that people talk in German and suddenly switch to English and back again.

This codeswitching between English and German enables speakers to do things they would otherwise not be able to do with language, like maintaining, or negotiating, a certain type of hybrid social identity. Carol Myers-Scotton (1993) shows how speakers balance different aspects of their identity by switching between languages. In the case of students of English at the FU, this negotiated identity being expressed in German-English codeswitching represents a youth generation that is, at the same time, German, European and global. Preisler (2003) has shown that for Danish youth, codeswitching to English is an integrated aspect of youth language based on a desire to symbolize subcultural identity and peer-group solidarity. Through codeswitching they evoke a discourse of cultural pluralism that negotiates between local and European/global identities. As one of the students interviewed noted, “For me [the use of English in German is] an expression of the culture I live in or what I think to express myself.”

#### **4.10 Conclusion: “English is the language of my generation”**

This chapter establishes a particular context in which to analyse the influences of globalization and the spread of English. By examining these students’ contact with and uses of English, this study sheds light on the process of globalization. This chapter demonstrates that English is a language which students have learned from a young age and have dedicated a great amount of time and effort to acquiring. However, it can be assumed that this effort in acquiring the language has been worth their while due to the great range of domains in which these students use English. Proficiency in English allows FU students mobility, as a large majority of them have lived abroad for an extended period of time in English-speaking contexts and they regularly travel to places where English is used as a *lingua franca*. Moreover, these students are not using English instead of their national languages, but *in addition* to them. English allows them access to a greater range of entertainment, media, music, literature and academic texts than just their national language would. In addition, these students’ uses of English in German gives them a greater range of expression in the language, which allows for multiple ways of expressing humour and creativity. These uses of the language, it will be argued in the following chapter, also allow these students to express a greater range of national, European and global identities.

Finally, Berlin—an emerging European metropolis—is a city which offers many opportunities to use English—whether in the tourist industry, with the European government, as the lingua franca of the city’s numerous international corporations, as a means of creative expression or as the language which is increasingly used in academia. In sum, English allows these students of English “to attend university, seek the most rewarding jobs at home or abroad, choose from the full supply of global media culture and keep abreast of advanced science and technology: it opens the world to them” (de Swaan 2001:193). The following two excerpts from different students’ essays show the valued status of English in this context.

- It’s taken for granted among my generation that we are able to at least communicate in English
- I would even say that English is the language of my generation.

These students’ quotes reveal that English is a prevalent language in their generation of Europeans, a situation which reflects growing multilingualism. Attitudes to this societal situation and the resulting shifts in students’ identities will be discussed in the following chapter.

## ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE ROLE OF ENGLISH IN GERMANY: GOING BEYOND THE MOTHER TONGUE

### 5.1 Attitudes towards the role of English in Germany

The previous chapter establishes the domains of the present study and introduces the students of English at the FU. When closely examining the role of English in these students' lives, it becomes clear that the language has several domains of use in Germany in general and more particularly in Berlin. This chapter will address general socio-cultural attitudes towards the high profile of English in Berlin and compare contemporary discussions to the attitudes of the students in this study.

This chapter first traces the public reactions to the presence of English in Berlin to show that this trend has not come about without debate. As mentioned in Chapter 2, there have been frequent discussions about the increasing presence of English in Europe at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century as a result of increased globalization and European unification. While many Germans accept the practical necessity of English, this chapter will discuss the widespread fear that it may damage it might do to other European languages or that other language speakers might lose power in the face of English. Recent European measures to start English instruction at an earlier age in German schools and to promote the use of the language in more educational domains are generally welcomed, but there is some insecurity expressed about the future of the German language. These reactions can be seen as local responses to factors which have evolved due to globalization.

This chapter will further show that the presence of Anglicisms in German, while frequently used by the general public and obviously present in advertising, is simultaneously frowned upon as it is seen to threaten the status of other European languages. Fears have been expressed that the German language will fragment and cease to be useful in the face of globalization and English. This fear of the inundation of English has given a sense of purpose to German language protection groups and in 2001 a language purification law against the invasion of English lexis was proposed. It is argued by proponents of such measures that the growing use of English may lead to the lexical impoverishment of German, hinder natural processes of word coinage and lead

the language into oblivion. The future of German was the topic of an international academic conference at New York University's Deutsches Haus in April 2002. The issues discussed at this conference reflect a serious concern that the German language is under threat.

In light of the discussion concerning the use of English in Germany, much of which is centred in Berlin, the next section of this chapter compares the macro-attitudes expressed in political and media reactions to the linguistic situation in Berlin with the attitudes expressed by the students of English at the FU. The results show that, for the most part, students positively embrace the use of English in Germany as an alternate means of expressing identity. However, these students still recognize the importance of German as the primary national language. What appears to be these students' greatest worry, though, is the emergence of societal semilingualism, where awareness of language boundaries is eroded.

In view of both the macro- and the micro-attitudes expressed towards the presence of English in Germany, this chapter will then explore the negative associations that language protectionism carries and the positive opportunities that societal bilingualism offers. The presence of English does not seem to threaten the status of the national language. Instead English offers these users a chance to break away from the limitations of their national identity and its links to what has sometimes been a tragic history. Moreover, many students see English as an extension of their local identity and as a link to European and global communities. This increasing use and appropriation of English supports the premise that Germans are becoming increasingly more multilingual.

## **5.2 Recent initiatives that support the spread of English in Europe: 1+>2**

Concern about the state of the German language has come about in part because of a marked increase in the use of English in the EU. This work has already traced the rise of English use in Europe and established that, for many Europeans, English is functioning as a second language. Here I will address two recent initiatives that have led to further use of English and the public reaction to these initiatives.

In response to the growing importance of English in Europe, there have been educational measures proposed by the European Commission to increase the foreign language competence of all EU citizens. Part of this includes the yearlong, Europe-wide initiative to promote linguistic diversity and language learning—the European Year of Languages in 2001. Ways of ensuring a



multilingual but communicative future for Europe were discussed at the international conference for the European Year of Languages, which was held at Berlin's FU in June 2001. The conference intended to designate the role that education institutions should play in the process of Europeanization and globalization, especially in providing appropriate language teaching. The opening address to the conference, given by Germany's Minister of Education, reads:

The future can no longer be viewed solely in terms of the nation state. The international dimension is equally important. Our education system and higher education institutions must respond to this change in perspective. Education in this country [Germany] has to be oriented towards Europe; those in education have to think, learn, and work trans-nationally. This includes offering internally attractive courses of study and improving the language ability of both students and teaching staff (Bulmahn 2001:41).

The main purpose of this project was to promote language learning for Europeans of all ages in order to secure Europe's multilingual future. It was at this time that the European Commission introduced a policy to boost proficiency in at least three languages: the "1+>2" formula (Foreign language teaching in schools in Europe 2001). This equation means that every European should have one first language—the mother tongue—and at least two second languages, preferably English and another European language. The European Commission then proposed education measures in both schools and universities to make this equation a reality.

### **5.2.1 The increase in English instruction at German schools**

As demonstrated above, the objective of European education systems is to endorse trilingualism, so that average Europeans have command over at least two L2s by the time they complete school. In order to achieve this objective, an educational scheme was introduced in 2001 that required all sixteen German *Bundesländer* to start teaching a foreign language in primary schools from the third grade on (Schmoll 2001). Although this law does not stipulate which foreign language is to be taught, most schools and parents are choosing English as a first foreign language. In the state of Baden-Württemberg, English is even being introduced in the first grade (Koch 2001). In many cases, English is also being integrated as the language of instruction into other subjects—particularly art and music (Schmoll 2001).

Although learning a foreign language is not obligatory until the third grade, many parents want their children to start sooner. Therefore, English is being offered at more and more kindergartens;

other parents send their children to language learning clubs or private tutors who teach their children English before they enter school (Nolte 2003).

### **5.2.2 Expanding roles of English at German universities**

Europeanization and globalization have affected German universities in a more indirect way than German schools, where bureaucratic policies have been introduced to promote English language learning. English is being used increasingly at German universities as a side effect of other policies that have been instituted.

#### **5.2.2.1 European initiatives that lead to an increase in English**

European measures that have led to an increase in the use of English at German universities include the introduction of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), the Erasmus and Lingua programmes and the European Master's degrees. The implementation of a standardized Master's and Bachelor's system throughout the EU will place further emphasis on the perceived necessity of English at European universities, as English is often used as a medium of instruction. While institutions are responding to this development at different rates, the FU plans to be finished with the conversion by October 2004.

As part of a number of initiatives to unify member states, the European Commission has supported the mobility and exchange of ideas between European universities. Part of this has been ensured through the introduction of the ECTS, which facilitates greater interchange between universities through the establishment of a European-wide standard of measurement for student performance. This system also guarantees that any courses or exams completed at foreign institutions are recognized by the home university.

Secondly, the Erasmus (European Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) programme is designed to enable students to study (usually for six months to a year) at a university in another EU country. It has been very successful in encouraging the free exchange of scholarly ideas among EU members. As Truchot (2002:9) notes, the universities taking part in this programme like their students to be able to acquire additional training abroad, but many institutes turn to English when they find that the use of the national language forms a barrier to attracting foreign students. So German students who participate in an Erasmus exchange to Finland, for example, do not necessarily need to learn Finnish for their studies, as many university courses there are offered in English. Despite the fact that learning the local language is

not imperative, many of today's FU students take advantage of the opportunity to study for a year abroad and several of them report that they acquire some competence in the language of the host country (see Erling In press). This means that even if European measures enforce the use of English as an academic lingua franca, they still encourage additional language learning at the local level.

Furthermore, the Lingua Programme was designed to provide future language educators with the opportunity to teach in countries where the main language is one they will later be teaching in their own country. Many future educators of English studying at the FU spend a year as a teaching assistant in one of the English-speaking countries in Europe.

European Master's degrees are post graduate courses carried out in cooperation with several European universities. At the FU, European Master's programmes include Chemistry, Linguistics, Tropical Veterinary Epidemiology and Transatlantic Studies, all of which require English proficiency for acceptance, as most of the reading is in English. Furthermore, they are open to foreign as well as to German students and they are sometimes taught by professors from various other countries and they are designed to prepare students to work internationally. In the European Master's programmes, for example, "post-graduate education may be imparted through the medium of English and students are encouraged, or indeed obliged, to write their dissertations or theses in English, in order to facilitate examinations which may involve international panels and to enable the dissemination of results to a wider circle of interested readers" (Hoffmann 2000:10).

Although these European programmes were designed to encourage mobility and subsequently learning of other European languages, they are also incidentally supporting the use of English in Europe. As not all Europeans learn the language of their neighbours, they sometimes rely on a lingua franca, which is often English since this is the language most commonly used in Europe. As a result "more and more universities are beginning to offer programmes in English because mobile students are often unable to follow courses in the language of the host institution" (Mackiewicz 2001:1).

#### **5.2.2.2 National initiatives that lead to an increase in English**

As well as a response to European measures, the increasing use of English at universities is part of national reforms intended to make German universities more internationally accepted, efficient

and appealing to scholars. Between the years 2000 and 2003, 110 million euros were invested in the internationalization of German higher education (Hägler 2003). As there is a growing lack of technologically skilled labour in Germany, university reforms endeavour to attract international students, scholars, technicians and scientists: "The necessity to make German universities more accessible to foreign students...is considered important for the country's economic and political future" (Ammon 2001:357). Ammon and McConnell (2002) note that universities promote the use of English in order to attract foreign students or foreign scholars and scientists, since these individuals usually know English but are reluctant to learn another foreign language for their studies or work at a university abroad.

According to recent statistics, there are 500 degree programmes which are offered in English in Germany (Hägler 2003). The growing use of English at German universities is not only an effort to open up universities to the world, but also an attempt to better prepare students to meet the requirements of the academic community. Proficiency in English is not simply a prerequisite for studying in English-speaking countries or even for the purpose of contacting scholars there. Through English, students have access to the greatest amount of international research.

Another reason for reforming the German university system is to keep German academics in Germany. The shortage of academic positions in Germany coupled with the extended length of time necessary to become a professor (42 is the average age) causes a number of German academics to look elsewhere for opportunities. "There is growing criticism recently over the increasing 'export' to the USA of highly qualified young scholars and technology experts as well as specialists in the natural sciences... and 14% of all young Germans with a doctorate go to the United States" (Center for Research on Innovation & Society 2000 in Hilgendorf 2001:163-64).

The collective reasons for the push to use English at German universities are well summed up by Germany's Minister for Education and Research:

We want to make German students fit for the international labour market and to bind foreign students to Germany as a study location through attractive courses of study. Germany as a location for education must be liberal-minded, and tolerant in its dealings with foreigners. We must more intensively recruit young foreign scientists, students and skilled personnel. Germany needs highly qualified scientists from abroad. We want to enrich the global talent pool as well as make maximum use of it. It is only in this way that we can advance Germany's position as a centre of science (Bulmahn 2001:41).

### 5.3 Macro-attitudes towards the role of English in Germany

At the same time that measures were being introduced by the government to increase English teaching at German schools and widen the domains of English at German universities, concurrent government campaigns were led in Berlin against this increase in English use. Language protection agencies were also inspired to take steps to defend the German language from English dominance. One newspaper article remarked on this inconsistency:

Hinter der nur mäßigen Begeisterung der Deutschen für fremde Zungen steht womöglich auch die Angst vor sprachlicher Überfremdung: Angesichts der Flut von Anglizismen in Medien und Werbung und des Vormarschs des Englischen bangen deutsche Sprachhüter um ihre Muttersprache<sup>1</sup> (Hanselmann 2001).

#### 5.3.1 Anti-English legislation: Werthebach's proposal

At the beginning of 2001, Berlin's Interior Minister Eckart Werthebach used the platform of the opening of the European Year of Languages to put forward a nationwide language purification law to protect the German language. Werthebach, a member of the conservative Christian Democratic party (the CDU), proposed legislation to stop the unnecessary use of Anglicisms, especially in public domains all over Germany. The proposal, which was published in the *Berliner Morgenpost* newspaper, also entailed the creation of a state-funded institution which would both monitor the purity of the language and invent new Germanisms to replace the most commonly used Anglicisms. Werthebach was quoted in a Berlin newspaper as saying:

Es geht uns darum, den Gebrauch von Anglizismen dort zu vermeiden, wo sie überflüssig sind oder verhindern, dass die Sprache allgemein verständlich bleibt . . . Das könnte . . . durch ein Expertengremium realisiert werden, das kontinuierlich Vorschläge erarbeitet, wie die deutsche Sprache weiterentwickelt werden könnte, ohne auf Anglizismen zurückgreifen zu müssen<sup>2</sup> (von Törne 2001).

The suggested legislation was similar to the French or Polish language protection regulations and Werthebach used their examples as a reason for Germany to follow suit: "Wenn andere Nationen

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<sup>1</sup> The reason for Germans' merely tepid enthusiasm for foreign languages is the fear of linguistic infiltration. In view of the flood of Anglicisms in the media and advertising, as well as the forward march of English, German language protectionists are worried about their mother tongue.

<sup>2</sup> We are concerned with avoiding the use of Anglicisms in those places where they are superfluous or where they prevent the language from remaining generally understandable... This could be... achieved by creating a board of experts that would continuously propose ways that the German language could be further developed without having to resort to Anglicisms.



ganz ungeniert ihr kulturelles Selbstbewusstsein pflegen, müssen wir Deutsche doch nicht abseits stehen”<sup>3</sup> (Stephan 2001). Werthebach expressed the need “to save Germany’s ‘most prized cultural possession’ from a hostile foreign takeover” (You have ways 2001). In an interview, Werthebach stated that “The [German] language is being abandoned, thanks to a growth in Americanisms, and older, less educated people, foreigners living in Germany who don’t speak English, and to some extent children, are excluded” (Connolly 2001). He also claimed that, because of the strong presence of Anglicisms in the language of technology, sections of the population are in danger of losing the link to the information revolution because of the increasing use of English.

Many politicians across the political spectrum expressed support for Werthebach’s protective concern for the German language. For example, Wolfgang Gerhardt, then leader of the Free Democratic Party (FDP), denounced “the flood of Anglicisms descending on us from the media, advertising, product description and technology as a form of violence not coming from the people but imposed on them” (You have ways 2001). Wolfgang Thierse, then Social Democratic (SPD) speaker of the Bundestag, urged members and officials to rise up against the threatened “ruination of our language” (You have ways 2001). The Green politician, Antje Vollmer, complained that “schrille, modische und expertenlastige Anglizismen schließen ohne Not viele Menschen von der Verständigung aus”<sup>4</sup> (Maxeiner 2001). Finally, German President Johannes Rau stated that the inflationary use of Americanisms in advertising and the media is “albern” and “dumm”<sup>5</sup> (Alexander, von Festenberg and Mohr 2001).

However, other politicians opposed the law, for example the SPD leader Klaus Wowereit and SPD Vice President Sven Vollrath. The Culture Minister, Julian Nida-Rümelin saw no need for a language-protection law and exclaimed, “Wer gegen die Vorherrschaft des Englischen opponiert, behindere den globalen Austausch”<sup>6</sup> (Alexander, von Festenberg and Mohr 2001). Following a similar logic, one newspaper article even complained that German was lagging behind in means of expression and for that reason deserved to be abandoned: “Das Deutsche, altbacken und kompliziert, bekomme die verdiente Quittung für seine Untauglichkeit, der modernen Welt

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<sup>3</sup> When other countries quite unabashedly foster their cultural self-confidence, we Germans need not stand on the sidelines.

<sup>4</sup> Shrill, trendy and annoyingly specialized Anglicisms unnecessarily exclude many people from communication.

<sup>5</sup> “Ridiculous” and “stupid”.

<sup>6</sup> Those who oppose the predominance of English hinder global exchange.

geeigneten Ausdruck zu verleihen”<sup>7</sup> (Jessen 2001). Other opinions in the media proclaimed that banning Anglicisms limited freedom of expression and that the use of unnatural German constructions was awkward: “Die Eindeutscher sind die eigentlichen Sprachverkrüppler”<sup>8</sup> (Harpprecht 2001). Others commented on the difficulty or even ridiculousness of translating or inventing new German expressions for words like *software* and *hardware*, as many terms are not easily Germanized:

Was sollen wir statt „new economy“ denn sagen?...Auch die Begriffe „e-commerce“ oder „e-government“ seien inzwischen gebräuchlich. Sollen wir nun von elektronischem Handel oder von virtuellen Behördengängen sprechen?<sup>9</sup> (Richter 2001:21).

Despite moderate support for the language legislation, Werthebach was not successful in passing a nationwide language protection measure. However, in May of 2001 he managed to muster enough local support to pass a law in the Berlin senate before he left office. With the passing of this law, the 149,999 workers in government offices in the city-state of Berlin were required to speak and write only German. Foreign language expressions, especially English ones, were rendered taboo. Government workers are only permitted to use foreign expressions when they cannot be avoided and when they do not impair comprehensibility. The language law reads as follows:

#### **§ 49 – Sprache, Stil und Form**

Fremdsprachliche Ausdrücke (auch aus dem angelsächsischen Sprachraum)<sup>10</sup> sind grundsätzlich nur zu verwenden, soweit es aus fachlichen Gründen unumgänglich ist und die Verständlichkeit insbesondere gegenüber dem Bürger nicht beeinträchtigt wird. Die Verwendung fremdsprachlicher Ausdrücke scheidet insbesondere dann aus, wenn geeignete deutsche Wörter vorhanden sind oder solche bei neuen Sachverhalten aus

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<sup>7</sup> The German language, both old-fashioned and complex, is getting what it rightly deserves for its inability to give suitable expression to the modern world.

<sup>8</sup> The Germanizers are the real language cripples.

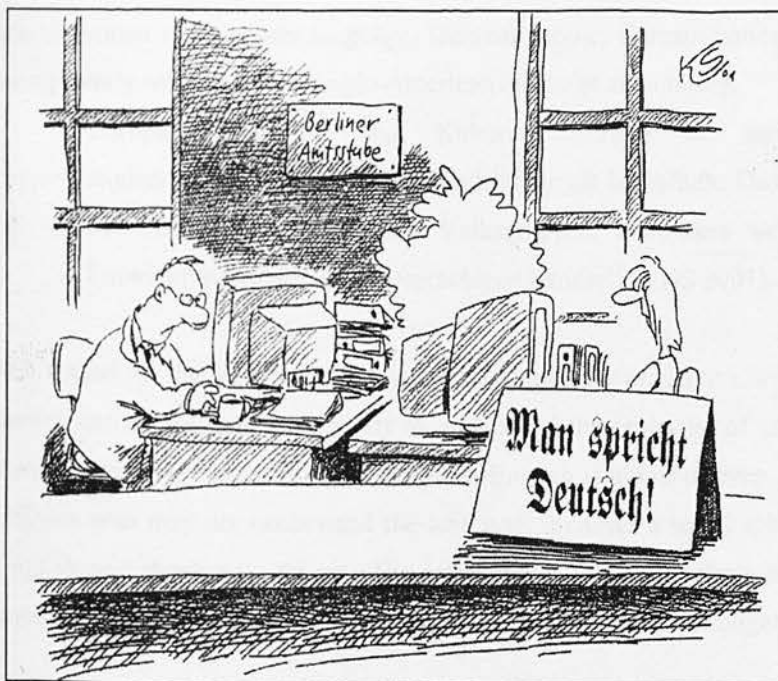
<sup>9</sup> What should we say instead of ‘new economy’?...The terms ‘e-commerce’ or ‘e-government’ have also become common in the meantime. Should we now speak of “elektronischem Handel” [electronic commerce] or “virtuellen Behördengängen” [virtual visits to government authority offices]?

<sup>10</sup> It is perhaps telling that the authors of this text felt the necessary to stress that English expressions should still be considered foreign language expressions.

vorhandenen Wortfeldern ohne besondere Schwierigkeit gebildet werden können<sup>11</sup> (cited in Gawlitta and Vilmar 2002:177).

The law that requires Berlin state employees to speak German is ridiculed in Figure 5.1 below. In the background of the cartoon hangs a sign that reads “Berliner Amtstube” (Berlin governmental office). At the counter, where governmental employees meet people from the public, is a sign in old-fashioned Gothic script that reads “Man spricht Deutsch!”<sup>12</sup>

Figure 5.1: “Man spricht Deutsch”



(Cartoon by Klaus Struttman in Wiehler 2001:10)

### 5.3.2 Verein Deutsche Sprache (VDS)<sup>13</sup>

In addition to proposals for language legislation as a response to the increase of English in Germany, there was also a resurgence of interest in language associations. The organization

<sup>11</sup> Paragraph 49—Language, style and form

Foreign language expressions (including those from Anglo-Saxon languages) should only ever be used when they are unavoidable for technical reasons and when they specifically do not impair comprehension for citizens. The use of foreign expressions is expressly prohibited when suitable German words are available or in cases when equivalents can be created from existing German word fields without particular difficulty.

<sup>12</sup> German spoken here!

<sup>13</sup> The Association for the German Language.

*Verein Deutsche Sprache* was founded in 1997 with the prime objective of preventing the entrance of Anglicisms into the German language. This organization is primarily supported by the same conservative political party of which Werthebach is a member, the CDU. Therefore the association supported Werthebach in his campaign for language legislation and they are still campaigning for the creation of a committee to monitor the German language.

According to their website, the VDS “tritt für mehr Selbstachtung und Würde aller Menschen, die Deutsch als Muttersprache haben, ein und bekämpft die Vermischung des Deutschen mit Anglizismen zu Denglisch”<sup>14</sup> (VDS 2001). The purpose of their language protectionist measures are to protect the German language, German people, German nation and German culture from being overly influenced by Anglo-American language and culture:

Europas Sprachen und Kulturen werden in zunehmendem Masse von angloamerikanischem Sprach- und Kulturgut beeinflusst. Das führt zum Identitätsverlust der betroffenen Völker und Volksgruppen. Besonders weit fortgeschritten ist diese Entwicklung in den deutschsprachigen Länder<sup>15</sup> (VDS 2001).

The reason for the VDS’s concern about the abundance of English in German is that they claim it denies certain citizens their rights to understand the language of communication in their own country and that the presence of too much English is unfair or even dangerous to some German citizens who may not understand the language; it causes a social split between those who know English and those who do not. The VDS argues that in all those places where the state must communicate with its citizens, the German language should be obligatory.

The VDS is also responsible for creating an award called the “Sprachpanscher”—or language adulterator—a critically intended ‘prize’ they give every year for “rüde Misshandlungen der deutschen Sprache”<sup>16</sup> (VDS 2001). Winners of this award have been the Deutsche Bahn<sup>17</sup> (for calling its information centres ‘Service Points’) and Deutsche Telekom (for introducing ‘HolidayPlusTarif,’ ‘City-Calls,’ and ‘GermanCalls’).

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<sup>14</sup> The VDS promotes increased self respect and self worth for all people who have German as a mother tongue and contests the ‘muddling up’ of German with Anglicisms into Denglisch.

<sup>15</sup> Europe’s languages and cultures are being increasingly influenced by Anglo-American language and culture. This is leading to a loss of identity among affected people and ethnic groups. This development has progressed extensively in German-speaking countries.

<sup>16</sup> Rude affronts to the German language.

<sup>17</sup> German Rail Company.

In addition to opposing the use of English in public announcements, the VDS has also opposed the increasing use of English at German universities and as a language of science. In July 2001, several members wrote an open letter to the government pleading for the reinstatement of German as the language of academia, which was subsequently published and commented upon in several newspapers (reprinted in Gawlitta and Vilmar 2002:183-186). This letter suggests that the German language is threatened and implies that German will no longer be used for scientific or academic purposes. The following extract from an article in a Berlin newspaper expresses this attitude:

Die deutsche Sprache ist auch Ansicht von Experten bedroht...es bestehe die Gefahr, dass Deutsch in Bereichen wie Wissenschaft und Wirtschaft nur noch selten verwendet werde<sup>18</sup> (DPA 2001).

The open letter protests the increasing use of English at international conferences in Germany and in turn suggests a political initiative to make German the official language of conferences held in the country. The authors of this letter also take up the point that German tax money is used to finance research whose results are not published in German and laments the fact that university courses at German universities are often taught in English. In this text several VDS members, along with a number of academics, called for a solution to the problem of the declining importance of German at German universities:

Wir sehen sonst die Gefahr, dass die originäre sprachliche Basis unseres wissenschaftlichen Denkens und gesellschaftlichen Wissensaustausches *innerhalb der nächsten 5 bis 10 Jahre* verloren geht. Dies träfe auch die Bedeutung Deutschlands als eines eigenständigen Wissenschaftslandes<sup>19</sup> (Gawlitta and Vilmar 2002:183).

One of the authors of this letter—and an active member of the VDS—is Fritz Vilmar, a retired professor of sociology at the Freie Universität Berlin. In 2001, Vilmar gave a seminar at the FU concerning the problems of Americanisms in the German language entitled “Die Amerikanisierung der deutschen Sprache als politisches Problem.”<sup>20</sup> This lecture intended to inform students about the ever-increasing hegemonic presence of American culture and language in Germany.

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<sup>18</sup> The German language is also seen by experts as being threatened...The danger exists that German will only be used very rarely within fields such as science and business.

<sup>19</sup> Otherwise we see a danger that the original linguistic foundation of our scholarly thought and social exchange of knowledge will be lost within the next five to ten years. This would also affect the importance of Germany as an independent nation of scholarship.

<sup>20</sup> The Americanisation of the German language as a political problem.



Taking up the views of Phillipson (1992), Vilmar, together with Kurt Gawlitta, has also edited a volume dedicated to saving the German language from linguistic imperialism and Denglisch, especially in the domains of business, science and technology (Gawlitta and Vilmar 2002). Vilmar deems language preservation as absolutely necessary “um Deutschland vor ‘amerikanischem Kulturimperialismus’ und ‘partielllem Sprachverfall’ zu schützen”<sup>21</sup> (quoted in Stork 2002).

### 5.3.3 Reasons behind the fear of English

In the above discussions about English use in Germany, one can see deep-rooted fears of cultural domination and the loss of language and identity. Although the current global climate has resulted in an extraordinary presence of English phrases in German, this fear of language deterioration is neither new nor unique. Nils Langer (2002) explains that linguistic purism and wariness of foreign expressions is as old as the German nation and that developments which brought new ideas and words with them have always led to a fear of linguistic infiltration. As one journalist noted:

Genauso alt wie die Geschichte der Anglizismen ist auch die Geschichte des Kampfes gegen sie...Die Argumente der Sprachschützer sind seitdem die gleichen geblieben, nur dass sie sich jetzt gegen die Amerikaner und ihre „Coca-Cola-Kultur“ richten<sup>22</sup> (Schröder 2002:22).

Like Langer (2002) above, other scholars have noted that every previous generation laments falling standards in language and yearns for a golden bygone age—a fallacy which Jean Aitchison (1996) calls the ‘Crumbling Castle Syndrome’. The support of such corpus planning to halt borrowings and maintain purity that was discussed above contribute to societal hysteria about the denigration of a language and with it its culture. Deborah Cameron (1995:82) suggests that such reactions to the public outcry about the ‘downfall’ of languages bears a resemblance to the sort of periodic hysteria cultural historians have labelled ‘moral panic’ (Cohen 1987), which occurs when some problem is suddenly featured in public discourse and discussed in a way that leads the public to anticipate some imminent catastrophe. In this case, moral panic about the German

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<sup>21</sup> To protect Germany from ‘American cultural imperialism’ and ‘partial linguistic decay’.

<sup>22</sup> Just as old as the history of Anglicisms is the history of the battle against them...Language protectionist arguments have remained the same ever since, with the exception that they are now directed against Americans and their ‘Coca-Cola culture’.

language creates anxiety that the German nation, language and culture are going to be wiped out by the English language, Europeanization and globalization.

Fears that a nation will die out with its language can seem very real, as a national language is often seen as the only common basis among the population of a nation. Discussions about the deterioration of language are especially sensitive in Germany, as imagining 'Germanness' has often depended on language. In Germany, there is a strong connection between the idea of nation and language. Benedict Anderson (1991:67-82) shows that Martin Luther, who played an important role in building an imagination of a German society, stressed that it was the German language that bound people together, not any political construct. Moreover, Coulmas (1991) traces the role of Leibniz, Herder, Fichte and Humboldt in forming the idea that the German language is an important vehicle of unification and a key symbol of nationalism. Barbour (2000:166) even argues that "there is possibly no area in which language and national identity are more closely linked than in German-speaking Europe." Wright (2000:43) also notes that "the theorists and popularisers of German nationalism gave...immense weight to the role of language, which together with culture and blood were held to be the critical factors for nationality and membership of a putative German state."

When examining the emphasis placed on the role of language in the construct of the German nation, it becomes understandable why globalization and English may be seen to pose a threat to the German language and therefore also to the country itself. As a symbol of national unity, German appears to be "something holy, untouchable, something that is both part of the people, but also represents intellectual thought and cultural heritage. It is like a home to everyone, and nobody must change it, or else we lose our sense of belonging" (Langer 2002:15). Without the German language, the nation is seen to be vulnerable to fragmentation. Therefore, the language is seen as something worth struggling to purify and protect.

One can see in the following excerpts from German newspapers that several journalists play on the public's fears, or the 'moral panic', that the German language is dying out. In the following text, the author gives the impression that the German language is in such a bad state that nothing can be done to save it from Anglicisms:

Die deutsche Sprache, die gesprochene wie die geschriebene, krankt am über die Maßen ausufernden Gebrauch von Anglizismen. Der Befund steht jedem so deutlich vor Augen, das er gar nicht erst nachgewiesen werden muss. Weil schon die bloße Aufzählung von

Wörtern wie *easy*, *model* oder *feeling* genügt, um die Volksseele in Wallung zu bringen, sind Initiativen zur Pflege und Reinigung der deutschen Sprache stets populär, einerseits. Andererseits weiß jeder: Es geschieht nichts. Kein noch so flammender Protest wider den Sprachverfall war je imstande, den Sprachverfall aufzuhalten<sup>23</sup> (Stephan 2001).

However, excerpts from the following newspapers demonstrate that concern about the disintegration of the national language is tied in with several other factors. Concern about the German language also seems to be connected with anxiety about the loss of national identity and economic power due to Europeanization (cf. Sifakis and Sougari 2003, concerning the fear of Europeanization in Great Britain). As Europe becomes more unified, and English more prominent in Europe, people in individual European countries are afraid of the decay of their language and culture in the face of European integration. The introduction of the European currency brought with it anxiety that the German nation and language were losing power, as can be seen in this excerpt from a newspaper: “Geht mit der Deutschen Mark auch die deutsche Sprache verloren?”<sup>24</sup> (Niedetzky 2001). The loss of German, according to the following text, is just part of a list of many German traditions that have been in decline over the last few decades, like the decline of the German national football team, the loss of the German mark and now the language:

Erst geht die alte Fußballherrlichkeit zu Grunde, dann wird die D-Mark verschwinden, und nun, armes Deutschland, auch das noch: „Fuck deutsche Sprache.” Das, Pardon, Grafficko, stand bis vor kurzem...an der Wand des Berliner Otto-Suhr-Instituts (OSI). Die Sprache des Faust...ist zum Ziel vulgärer Beschimpfung geworden, eine neue Eskalationsstufe ist damit erreicht. Es geht nicht mehr nur um die seit Jahren geführte Diskussion, ob Deutsch angesichts immer neuer Wellen von Anglizismen noch eine Zukunft hat. Der Disput gewinnt ideologisch an Schärfe und droht aus den heiligen

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<sup>23</sup> The German language, spoken as well as written, suffers from the extremely escalated use of Anglicisms. This finding is so plain for anyone to see that it need not even be proven. Since the mere enumeration of words such as *easy*, *model* or *feeling* suffices to enrage the soul of the people [*Volksseele*], initiatives to maintain and purify the German language are always popular, on the one hand. On the other, everyone knows that nothing will change. No protest, no matter how fiery, has ever been able to halt the progress of language decay.

<sup>24</sup> Will the German language be lost with the German mark?

Hallen von Akademien und wissenschaftlichen Zirkeln auszubrechen<sup>25</sup> (Alexander, von Festenberg and Mohr 2001:160).

The extinction of the German language has also been connected with the dying out of the ageing German population:

Stirbt die deutsche Sprache aus, noch ehe die Deutschen selber, dank ihrer beharrlichen Weigerung, Nachwuchs zu zeugen... Zerfällt das Deutsche sozusagen bei lebendigem Leibe, zersetzt von den Anglicismen und Amerikanismen, die unseren Alltagsjargon, die Fernsehprosa, die Geschäftssprache beherrschen?<sup>26</sup> (Harpprecht 2001).

For the most part, alarm over the degenerative state of the language seems to be a mask for the fear of losing political power and money. Some texts even imply that saving the German language would entail saving the country from its current economic depression and would reinstate the country as a leading global power. The following text reports on the protectionist stance towards English and the language is made responsible for Germany's disadvantages in research and business.

Das mangelnde Vertrauen in die eigene Sprache führe in der Wirtschaft zu hohen Verlusten... Wenn Deutsche mit ihre Finanzpartnern Englisch sprechen, sind sie grundsätzlich im Nachteil. Auch in Forschung und Wissenschaft sei eine zunehmend eingeschränkte Verwendung des Deutschen zu beobachten. So sei es inzwischen nahezu unmöglich, eine physikalische Abhandlung auf Deutsch zu schreiben<sup>27</sup> (DPA 2001).

As well as a fear of the loss of nation, underlying the anxiety over the presence of English in Germany is the fear of cultural imperialism. In the age of globalization, many people are alarmed by the growing Americanization of the world and the increasing influence of English. As Berns

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<sup>25</sup>First the old football glory dies out, then the German mark disappears, and now, poor Germany, on top of it all comes this: "Fuck the German language." This, sorry, graffiti was recently seen... on the wall of the Otto-Suhr Institute (OSI) in Berlin. Faust's language... has become the target of vulgar insults, thus reaching a new level of escalation. This no longer concerns the age-old discussion of whether German still has a future in view of even newer waves of Anglicisms. Ideologically, the dispute is becoming more charged and threatens to escape the hallowed halls of academia and scholarly circles.

<sup>26</sup> Will the German language die out, even before the Germans themselves, thanks to their stubborn refusal to reproduce... Will German rot to death, so to speak, corroded by the Anglicisms and Americanisms that dominate our everyday speech, our television prose, our business language?

<sup>27</sup> The lack of confidence in one's own language leads to severe economic losses... When Germans speak English with their financial partners, they are at a fundamental disadvantage. An increasingly restricted use of German in research and science can also be observed. Meanwhile, it has almost become impossible to write a physics report in German.

(1992a:3) suggests, Europeans fear that the spread of English, which shows no sign of abating, will lead to the encroachment of a different set of values, primarily those of the US. This feeling can be seen in the following excerpt from a newspaper article:

Der Siegeszug des Englischen ist Ausdruck einer zu Recht empfundenen Hegemonie der angelsächsischen Welt. Denn die Worte kommen nicht für sich allein, sie werden stets zusammen mit Produkten und Lebensweisen importiert<sup>28</sup> (Jessen 2001).

Here the opposition to the spread of English is rooted in specific political orientation. This position was also expressed in one of my students' essays about the attitudes towards English in Germany:

- This battle is not just about words: it's about globalization effecting the daily lives of people all over the world. The hegemony of the English language cannot be separated from the hegemony of the Hollywood film industry, and a loss in the diversity of languages corresponds with a worldwide trend towards cultural conformity.

As can be seen above, there has been much anxiety expressed amongst the German public about the spread of the English language in Germany. There is a general fear that German language and culture will be fragmented and thereby become less influential in the world. The language issue has been connected with cultural, political and economic issues that are side effects of Europeanization and globalization

#### **5.4 Micro-attitudes towards the role of English in Germany**

So far this chapter has provided a contemporary perspective on the goals of language education in Germany and Europe. Under these schemes, English is being introduced earlier and in more domains in national schools. At universities, English is increasingly being used in degree programmes because of the growing presence of international lecturers and students. For many courses, at least a passive knowledge of English is necessary. At the same time that English is being promoted in the education system, there have been efforts made to curb the use of English expressions, at least in bureaucratic domains.

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<sup>28</sup> The triumphal march of English is the expression of a justifiably perceived hegemony of the Anglo-Saxon world. For the words do not come on their own; they are always imported with products and lifestyles.



Given the current political reaction against the use of English in Germany, I was interested in polling students' reactions to the growing role of English in Germany. As the political debate was mainly centred in Berlin, and as one of the most vocal campaigners against English is at the FU, I expected most students to be aware of the situation and I was curious to find out whether they agreed that their language and/or culture was under threat.

**5.4.1 FU students' opinions about the use of English in Germany**

In one section of the questionnaire that I distributed among FU students, respondents were given a variety of questions about their opinions on the role of English in society. Here the results illustrate that, for the most part, students hold a positive attitude towards English, as can be expected given the investment they have made in learning it. The table below shows that more than three-quarters of students do not perceive any threat from English to their language or culture. Indeed a third of them believe that the current presence of English is a trend that does not need to be taken seriously. Three-quarters of language centre students even feel that the presence of English in their society is useful because it increases students' knowledge of English and broadens their cultural horizons. Therefore English is seen more as a source of cultural enrichment than a menace.

The results of the study at the FU were then compared to the study done by Preisler (1999a). The following table shows students' feelings about the role of English in their lives in comparison to the results of Preisler's survey of the Danish population as a whole. Preisler's (1999a:247) study shows that in Denmark, a similar but slightly higher number, 26% of the population, consider the presence of English in Danish society to be a threat to the Danish language and 19% consider it a threat to Danish culture.

Table 5.1: Opinions about the role of English: FU vs. Denmark

	FU students (n=101)	Danes
	Agree	Agree
The presence of English in daily life is...		
a threat to my native language.	22%	26%
a threat to my culture.	13%	19%
a trend not to be taken seriously.	32%	16%
useful because it improves one's English.	75%	89%
useful because it improves one's cultural horizons.	77%	69%
Sometimes I am worried about the effects of English on my native language.	25%	NA
I don't really like the English language and sometimes I resent the fact that I'm forced to use it.	5%	NA

When asked if they are worried about the effects of English on their native language, 25% of students agreed that they sometimes were; however, the majority is clearly not concerned. Only a 5% minority of students agreed with the statement that “I don't really like the English language and sometimes I resent the fact that I'm forced to use it” and an overall 90% strongly disagreed with this statement.

These results determined in the study at the FU are similar to those found by Ammon and McConnell (2002), who concerned themselves with the question of whether students at German universities felt there was a danger for German as a language of teaching and research. Their study demonstrates that almost 80% of their polled 70 student respondents saw no threat to German as a language of teaching and a clear majority (62.9%) saw no threat to German as a language of research. Of the 20.3% who saw some degree of danger, less than 3% saw ‘considerable danger.’ Regarding research, a higher percentage of students did in fact see a threat (37.1%), but of these, only 7.1% saw it as ‘considerable’ (Ammon and McConnell 2002:159).

#### **5.4.2 FU students' opinions about English as a European lingua franca**

As further evidence of students' predominantly positive attitude towards English, 69% of this study's respondents agreed that all adult Europeans should be able to speak and understand English. The number who agreed that all Europeans should be able to read and write English was

lower, 53%. This shows that students see a higher value in acquiring oral skills in English than in written skills. Perhaps this is also an indirect way of asserting the importance of language maintenance for German in the face of English.

Students were then asked for their opinions on the role of English in European education: 36% agreed that the same amount of German and English lessons should be taught in German schools, but 29% strongly disagreed with this statement. When asked whether more English than German lessons should be taught in German schools, 95% of all students strongly disagreed and only 3% agreed with some reservations. This shows that although many of the students do not mind the presence of English in society, they still consider German the most important national language and support it as the first language in education. This result also indicates the importance students perceive education to have in defining national identity.

**Table 5.2: FU students' feelings about English as a European lingua franca**

	<b>Agree</b> (n=101)
All adult Europeans should be able to speak and understand English without problems.	69%
All adult Europeans should be able to read and write English without problems.	53%
The same amount of German and English lessons should be taught in German schools.	36%
More English than German lessons should be taught in German schools.	3%

Deeper insight into students' feelings about the importance of English in German society can be found in student essays about the role of English in their lives as well as in the interviews I conducted. Some students perceive English as a gateway to global communication or as playing an important and helpful part in the establishment of common ground in the EU, as the following three excerpts from student essays illustrate:

- I think the development of English as a lingua franca in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is a positive thing. Why should it be negative to have one powerful language that unites people of the world in a way? I don't understand why some people feel threatened by English.
- For a global or European melting pot, it would help to have a European language, which should still be a second language. English should be the first foreign language.

- The tendency of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is to join the European countries with the help of the euro. This will help countries to have closer relationships with each other. I am sure that English is the language which can help to make this relationship stronger.

In addition, the following two students note that English is an important additional language in Germany, but they do not necessarily feel that this presents a dilemma to German culture or language:

- It is possible to teach foreign languages and pick up foreign words, and keep the German language and its culture in Germany at the same time.
- We should take pleasure in the diversity of languages, pleasure in the use of dialects, the bending and mixing of the available linguistic material. There's nothing wrong with drawing on plentiful resources.

Finally, I was interested to find out if most students wish that English television shows and films were left in the original and subtitled in German (as in the Scandinavian countries), instead of always being dubbed into German. I expected that students would overwhelmingly agree with the statement, "In Germany, we should start to use subtitles instead of dubbing foreign movies." While 63% of respondents agreed with the statement, a total of 34% disagreed, with 18% strongly disagreeing. This shows that there is still a considerable desire to have German as the language of entertainment, even when a large proportion of shows were originally in English, a language that students are competent in.

As can be seen in the results above, there are students who are concerned for the future of their language and culture. A minority of students (25%) agreed that "Sometimes I am worried about the effects of English on my native language." One student who was interviewed, Oskar, represents a reasonably anxious position about the presence of English in his culture/language. He admits that this is related to the fact that he does not particularly like the US. He thinks it is sad that children today are "more interested in Nike and MTV" than Goethe.

O: I think that the influence of American culture in any way is not so positive as it is always taken. Or very often taken... Well, I mean, we had September 11<sup>th</sup>. And most of the people have now really seen that there is of course something else than American culture. And they have also seen in how far their own culture has been, I wouldn't say undermined, but influenced or changed by American culture. I think that very many children nowadays growing up in Germany, for instance, have no idea of what is German

culture and what is in fact something that has come from America...I grew up with the *Muppet Show*, which was American too, so I'm not saying that it's absolutely bad or whatever...But we still had a chance to have German culture, to get in touch with typical German culture...For instance, we had different ballgames. We were not going out to play basketball. Basketball was absolutely something else. Nobody knew basketball; some people played it of course, but it wasn't that big as it is now. Or American football. We didn't have an American football team in Germany...We played something called Völkerball...And I haven't seen that in ages. Nobody knows it anymore.

Even though he was worried about the disappearance of German culture and language, Oskar still feels strongly that all Europeans should learn to write, read, speak and understand English. He feels that this would help the unification of Europe more than sharing the same currency.

O: English is of course the choice because it is a widespread language. As you go across the world, English is your first try when you want to talk to somebody. It is already so widely spread (mostly because the influence of American culture)—why bother arguing about, let's have it French. I think it just costs time.

E: But you don't think that this increased presence of English will then make your problem even worse that, people confuse languages. I mean, won't it increase the dominance of American language and culture?

O: I don't think people in Germany will start talking in English to each other. I don't think this will happen...For a global or European melting pot, or whatever, it would help to have kind of a European language, which should still be a second language. So you should grow up as a child maybe in elementary school in your own language, French, German, whatever. And then have English as first foreign language.

Here it is clear that Oskar sees English as having 'instrumental functions' (Gardner and Lambert 1972) in the European context, but he is not necessarily interested in meeting people from English-speaking cultures or acquiring the cultural habits of English-speaking cultures. He sees English as a useful tool that will lead to European integration, something he views as positive. In his view, this use of English as a second language will not impede on the national, first languages of Europeans.



### 5.4.3 FU students' reactions to Denglich

Students were then polled about their feelings towards Denglich, or German-English codeswitching. An opinion poll in *Focus* magazine showed that 53% of Germans are against the use of English words in German (cited in McCrum 2001). I expected the number to be much lower for students of English at the FU, but a similar proportion of language centre students reported the same feelings. The majority of students (57%) felt that German speakers should not mix English and German in their speech and 40% agreed that the use of English expressions in German was annoying and 'sounds ridiculous'. These attitudes are similar to those found in Preisler's (1999a:247) study of English use in Denmark, where he found that the public does not endorse codeswitching to English and even people who do it will say or imply that it is wrong to use English when the national language will do. The results of all the above-mentioned studies substantiate the argument that attitudes towards codeswitching are often negative (Stockwell 2002:140).

The most common reasons that FU students had for disliking Denglich were based on a distaste for mixing languages in general. The rationale given in the following students' responses to the questionnaire is based on aesthetic and not practical preferences:

- I think everyone should use its own language instead of mixing it with others.
- Why use English words when we have our own words?
- Some words used in advertisements don't exist in 'real' English.
- It is necessary to somehow prevent this immense spread of English expressions, for which we have German equivalents. Simply because "Name Game" rhymes better than "Names Spiel", or "hitmix" sounds hipper than "Schlagermischung" there is no real need for these expressions.

Alina, one of the students interviewed, does not approve of mixing English in German and tries to avoid doing so herself. Her reason for this is that she finds Denglich annoying. As she stated in her interview:

- A: There are people who say '*Ich habe Freitag und Samstag off*' You know, it's "*frei*" ...And *Handy*<sup>29</sup>. Well, I see the point. It's hard once the word is there, but if you can avoid it ...
- E: So you make efforts to avoid it?

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<sup>29</sup> The German word for 'mobile phone'.

A: Well, I wouldn't make the effort to say it in English....I don't know, maybe they got used to it. But for me it wouldn't be as easy to say it in English as to say it in German. I don't think of the word in English.

Some students dislike the use of Denglisch because they see it as pretentious. As noted in a questionnaire: Denglisch is "used to imitate a 'cool' language but it doesn't." Others (15%) disapprove of the use of English in German because, as one student remarked, it "excludes some people from understanding everything they hear and read."

However, another group of students feel that the use of English is necessary because there is no similar word in German. In their questionnaires, three students gave the following reasons for the necessity of English:

- Sometimes there is an English expression that expresses the message better than a German equivalent would.
- Sometimes there is just no appropriate German translation for a specific English word.
- Some words don't have a German equivalent—*teenager*.

A large number of students were rather apathetic about the use of English in German, with 37% claiming that they do not care. Other students responded that they "hardly noticed" if English was used, that it is "O.K. as long as they don't overuse it" or that the use of English is a "natural global development." Only 3% of the population claimed that "Mixing English with German sounds trendy." One of these was Steffen, who expressed the sentiment that Denglisch is 'cool':

S: Maybe I'm not, I don't know, the best person to ask that because I'm not really objective. Because, for me, like, for me, it's cool. You know, I don't know, I don't care if there are a lot of English words in the German language, I mean, because I like the language, the English language, so. And I don't care very much about my own language and my mother tongue, so um. And well there certainly is a, I don't know, a slight danger that, I don't know, German gets overrun by the Americanisms too much maybe, but I don't know, I don't care because I like English, you know.

Beatrice, who has grown up in a trilingual family that has always mixed languages, does not see a problem in mixing English and German. In fact, this is a point of view that she feels distinguishes her from 'the Germans,' who might be worried about their language:

B: I don't see it as a problem. Maybe the Germans see it like that... For me, it's fine. It's fun. O.K., but I can imagine that old people who don't speak English read that and say 'eh, what do they mean?' or they will think that their children don't learn proper German. But I don't really see it as a problem.

Diane also does not have a problem with mixing English with German. I said to her that she did not seem to be very worried about the German language and she passionately proclaimed, "No!"

D: 'Cause I'm the worst! I start really speaking English with friends. And then they go like, you with your Anglicism all the time in between! And then I'm like, O.K. that's someone who doesn't know me so well, so. 'Cause I'm really bad. Like I'm really speaking German and in between I start, like [pfff], saying a sentence in English and um.

E: Why?

D: Just it fits. For me it fits in between. And I think. To think about German. That maybe everybody would start to speak like this. It's maybe a very strange thought. Like you could say, oh my god everybody's going to be so destroyed or whatever. But, it's an expression maybe of the culture I live in. Or what I think, um, to express myself. And if I feel like this, in this way...And so it's O.K. I think. I mean, I still can write German.

Diane also sees that multilingualism and mixing languages is actually the norm and that only speaking one language and maintaining its purity is neither necessary nor advantageous:

D: In Africa people speak three to four languages and it's normal for them. And if you go there, and you don't speak the language, then they're like, what's wrong with you? And for us it's such a big deal to learn one. Just another, one foreign language.

Even Oskar, who is relatively worried about the German language, admitted that he uses English in his daily language:

O: Sometimes when I try to say something in German and I know the word in English but I don't have the appropriate word in German ready. And I have the same problem the other way around. Of course this will happen because you can't translate words one to one.

However, Oskar also expressed concern about the current state of the English language and, like Diane, differentiated between those who were educated and mixed different languages for effect and those who do not know the difference:

O: I see language problems with the young people nowadays. I mean, I see a lot of kids coming to the cinema...and I hear how they talk to one another. They're having words, it's like they're totally coded, and I don't know if they have a grammar; I don't see it...It's a real wild mix. Even German kids are using things that I think are coming from Turkish German.

Here, as in many cases, students seem to differentiate between educated uses of English and casual ones. As one student noted in an essay:

- People who know how to speak proper German and are aware of foreign words, their origins and German translations, are able to separate between useful English expressions and useless ones. But the majority of people is stupid and uneducated.

In general, student attitudes to the use of English in society are fairly positive and do not reflect the fears expressed in the media and by language protectionist groups. However, they do express some concern about the use of Denglisch, although this is mainly for aesthetic and not practical reasons. Many students feel that languages should not be mixed, but they do not see the need to prevent this mixing through legislative means. The major concern expressed by students is that there should be awareness about language and that users should be able to distinguish between the different languages they speak. The prevailing attitude of students of English at the FU seems to be that the presence of English in Germany is unproblematic, as long as German speakers maintain a developed sense of their mother tongue.

## **5.5 Analysis: Negative connotations and new identities**

It was established above that students' attitudes towards the use of English in society do not necessarily align with the attitudes expressed by the media and language protectionist groups. Although one can sense some fear of the dominance of English, students seem reluctant to accept top-down language planning measures that would enforce the use of German in certain domains and prevent the use of English. The following will offer an interpretation of this seemingly paradoxical behaviour. These sceptical attitudes stem from a general suspicion of nationalism. Because of events in German history, like the rise of National Socialism or Communism—where ideological policies were formed by the governing factions and forced on the populations—many Germans shy away from any measures to impose anything related to nationalism. Some people even seem to have an aversion to being identified as German and welcome the opportunity to hide in the identities that other languages offer. But even Germans who do not wish to conceal their

'Germanness' may be interested in the additional channels of identification that a global language like English can offer.

### 5.5.1 Associations with the past and 'cultural cringe'

One reason why students may be hesitant to agree with national attempts to curb the use of English in Germany is that, for some, such puristic measures conjure up negative associations. Language policies were used in Germany to support the ideologies of the Third Reich and, to a less serious extent, the GDR. Because language policies in Germany bring up associations with nationalism, many people are against any kind of government enforced language planning. Others think that language purification measures might actually increase negative and nationalistic feelings towards foreign languages and their cultures. This can be compared to Sweden, where "calls to purify Swedish of English were rejected by many who claimed that the campaign reflected an unhealthy nationalism or even racism" (Oakes 2001:165)

The fear that such language measures could evoke a negative strain of German nationalism can be seen in recent media coverage of the political discussions about the presence of English in Germany. The Green politician Wolfgang Wieland was reported to have said that the plea for a language preservation law stirs up "unpleasant memories," referring to the fact that during National Socialism or in the GDR English expressions were frowned upon (von Törne 2001). Moreover, the following newspaper article argues that German Nazism discredited any future efforts for language reform:

Doch hätten die Versuche der Nazis, die Sprache rein zu halten, dauerhaften Schaden hinterlassen und Sprachpflege für lange Zeit als Deutschtümelei diskreditiert<sup>30</sup> (Dörries 2001).

Viewed from abroad, the movement to purify German of Anglicisms also raises tensions. Associations with National Socialism were brought up by the British media, where language protectionist proposals were interpreted as "war with the English again...but this time the barricades are up against an invasion of nouns, verbs and adjectives" (Connolly 2001). This association can also be seen in *The Economist's* covering of the episode as well in the cartoon that accompanied the article (see figure 5.2):

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<sup>30</sup>But the attempts by the Nazis to keep the language pure left permanent damage, and language maintenance has long been discredited as 'hyper-Germanness.'



As ever, Germany is haunted by the ghost of its past. Did not the Nazis seek to ‘purify’ the German language in the 1930s? Were not Germanising dictionaries published during the First World War, to purge it of its then most dangerous enemy, French?

Figure 5.2: Denglisch Checkpoint



(From You have ways 2001:32)

#### 5.5.1.1 ‘Cultural cringe’

The German tendency to shy away from anything that brings up associations with nationalism can be seen as ‘cultural cringe’. This is a term that refers to “attitudes or statements that deprecate or belittle local achievements or mores, while discursively constructing some external alternative as aesthetically, morally or pragmatically ‘better’” (Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 2003:543). Therefore, the embracing of English by Germans can be seen as resistance to nationalist pleas to embrace the state language.

Clyne (1992) has argued that as a reaction to the restrictions on the use of “foreign words” during the Nazi period, Germans are more open to Anglicisms than other European languages are. Just as “Anglo-Saxon countries served as models of democracy [after World War II] helping people to forget their own past” (House 2001), the use of English has been used to cut people free from the ties that bind language to personal and national identity. This German “revulsion for nationalism” has also been “manifested in enthusiasm for the European Union” (Wright 2000:45). Furthermore, de Swaan (2001:154) notes that “German cultural policy did maintain a low profile after World

War II — it tried to convey the very opposite of hegemony and to suggest a kind of sober modesty... Germans abroad were always ready to switch to English and at official occasions never insisted on the use of their own language.” This use of English offers a counter-identity marker.

For those who experience cultural cringe, English serves as a marker of a European, multilingual identity, one which is used to distance oneself from Germany’s troublesome past and the associations with Nazi or Communist Germany. The use of English by the younger generation may therefore reflect a desire to escape tradition, a rebellion towards older generations and a means to show that they are something new and different. As Leigh Oakes (2001:165) notes, “While on the surface, such behaviour may have the appearance of convergence to the dominant, American culture, this same culture is used to express an alternative national identity.”

Moreover, Germans may prefer to hide behind the mask of a foreign language and be willing to shed some of the national stereotypes to open themselves up to other cultures. This idea was expressed in the following excerpt from a newspaper article about the use of English in Germany:

Die Kinder und Enkel der Nazis versuchen demnach der Schuld ihrer Vorfahren zu entkommen, indem sie vom kontaminierten Zungenschlag in die kuschligere Identität eines ‚Euro-Englisch‘ wechseln<sup>31</sup> (Schröder 2002).

This readiness to accept another identity has been interpreted as an inferiority complex by some. In fact the German president, Johannes Rau, scolded the German people for not being proud enough of their language and for not taking care of it: The president complained about “die ‘Lieblosigkeit’ der Deutschen gegenüber ihrer Muttersprache”<sup>32</sup> (Schröder 2002). Another newspaper article complained that “In den Anglizismen zeigt sich keine Unterlegenheit des Deutschen, wohl aber ein Unterlegenheitsgefühl der Deutschen”<sup>33</sup> (Jessen 2001).

Reflecting these ideas, one student noted in her essay that it is a “big mistake” to connect language protectionists with nationalist fervour: “this discussion has absolutely nothing to do with our past but rather with a growing consciousness of our language.” However, most students of

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<sup>31</sup> The children and grandchildren of the Nazis are trying to escape the guilt of their predecessors by switching from the contaminated tongue into the more comfortable identity of ‘Euro-English’.

<sup>32</sup> Germans’ ‘lovelessness’ for their language.

<sup>33</sup> Anglicisms do not demonstrate the inferiority of German, but more specifically a sense of inferiority among the Germans.

English did not want to be associated with national measures to promote German and remain suspicious of any form of nationalism.

### **5.5.2 De-emphasizing 'Germanness'**

The reticence to express pride in being German and the readiness to adopt new identities is well reflected in a survey on European identity, where Germans "frequently denied having a national identity, or admitted to having one but only as if this was a confession of fault" (Field 1998:2). Therefore, in my own study of language centre students I was interested to find out whether students proudly identified with their nation or whether they preferred to identify with some other place.

In the questionnaire, students were asked to mark which place they most identified with—their city, their region, their country, Europe, or the world. They could respond with two multiple answers, as I did not want to restrict their choices to one response. The fact that 59% of students responded with more than one answer to this question shows that their identities are spread out in more than one place.

A surprising 71% of the German respondents identify with their city (which for most is Berlin). There were only 16 non-German respondents in the survey, but only 44% of them identify with their city. A much lower 28% of the German students identify with their region (compared with 13% of the non-Germans), while only 15% of the German students responded that they feel connected to their country (compared with 31% of the non-German students). The number of non-German students is too low for a proper comparison to determine whether Germans really feel less connected to their nation than students of other nationalities might, so these statistics have to be interpreted in the light of other meaningful factors; for example, students who are studying in a foreign environment might feel homesickness or a stronger connection to their country since they are away from it. However, the fact that 85% of German students do not report feeling connected to Germany is quite significant, especially considering that more German students feel more connected to Europe (29%) or the world (25%) than to Germany (15%).

The non-German students were almost as likely to feel connected to Europe or the world as the German students. However, they were less likely to identify with their city or region and twice as likely to identify with their country.

**Table 5.3: FU students' connections to geographical areas**

To which of the following geographical areas do you feel most connected?

	<b>Total (n=101)<sup>34</sup></b>	<b>Germans (n=85)<sup>35</sup></b>	<b>Non-Germans (n=16)<sup>36</sup></b>
<b>The city I live in</b>	66%(n=67)	70.6% (n=60) <sup>37</sup>	43.8% (n=7)
<b>Europe</b>	30%(n=30)	29.4% (n=25)	31.3% (n=5)
<b>The region or province I am from</b>	26%(n=26)	28.2% (n=24)	12.5% (n=2)
<b>The world</b>	26%(n=26)	24.7% (n=21)	31.3% (n=5)
<b>My country</b>	18%(n=18)	15.3% (n=13)	31.3% (n=5) <sup>38</sup>

A good example of the indifference some German students feel towards their national identity is provided by this excerpt from my interview with Alina:

- E: Are you German?
- A: Yes.
- E: And how do you feel about being German?
- A: It's a nationality, I mean....I think I got more used to it now. Before I really thought, well, Germany isn't great. But I don't know. My father hated it here so that's been a point. It's a place where I live and, I mean, I like it here, so.  
[...]
- E: Do you feel European?
- A: Well, I mean if you ask me, yes, but I don't really identify with anything like German or Greek or European.
- E: What do you identify with?
- A: The city I live in and the people around me. I mean, I'm European in the sense that I'm not American or African or Asian, so then I'm European. But not if I don't compare it to anything else.
- E: But in many ways, you seem like a perfect European. You're Greek and German, you've been in the UK, you're at least trilingual.
- A: Maybe, yeah.

<sup>34</sup> Here there were 101 student respondents but 167 responses to the question, as it allowed for multiple responses.

<sup>35</sup> Here there were 85 German student respondents but 143 responses to the question, as it allowed for multiple responses.

<sup>36</sup> Here there were 16 non-German respondents but 24 responses to the question, as it allowed for multiple responses.

<sup>37</sup> 95% of these 60 students are from Berlin.

<sup>38</sup> The countries these students are from include France, Poland, Uruguay and Korea.

Diane expressed similar feelings about being German. She explains that the primary emotion she has about her nationality is ambivalence. Although she used to be ashamed of being German and part of her reason for travelling so much was to run away from Germany and escape being German, she now is coming to terms with this identity:

D: I decided somehow to make peace with Germany. Which is like making peace with myself...For some time when I was travelling, I find it, like, it wasn't a good feeling to say I'm German. But now I'm, I don't care about this. I am German. And that's O.K. for me.

Oskar was more succinct and his views reflect a general disinterest in nationality:

O: I don't know if I'm typical German or whatever. I'm not trying to be. But I'm not hiding it as well. I don't think I really care.

When asked how he felt about being German, Steffen suggested that he had not been much aware of or given much thought to his national identity before travelling abroad. He relates that his experiences with English and travelling in the US made him more fond of where he comes from:

S: I'm glad to live here. The thing is I remember when I went to the States the first time and I got into speaking English a lot. And after a while I thought about my mother tongue like I had never done before. And I realized that it's actually a cool thing, to have a mother tongue. And it's cool to be able to speak it and I think you kind of have to step away from things to appreciate it. And so I kind of appreciated my mother tongue for the first time in my life. It's not that I hate my mother tongue and everything German. I mean, I am German.

The above data shows that Germans are slightly reluctant to identify with their national identities. For most respondents, their local identities are seen as more important, while global and European identities also play a significant role. The interviews with students show that these students either have had problems coming to terms with their national identity or do not care about national identity much at all. This may explain why there is such an overwhelming acceptance of English in Germany, as it helps to escape the constraints of national identity and to reinforce the ideas of belonging to a larger European or global community. However, studies have shown that English is also an important language in other countries (i.e. France, Sweden)



that may not have such obvious reasons to 'cringe' about their nation's history. Therefore, there must be other intervening variables that contribute to the popularity of English.

### 5.5.3 'Place polygamy' and emerging European and/or global identities

As well as offering as escape from national identity, English can provide an additional marker of a European or global identity. Indeed the fact that the students feel attached to their city, their country, and Europe is what Beck (1997:127) calls *Ortspolygamie*—place polygamy—or being married to various places. This suggestion is supported by studies which have found that individuals in Europe do not feel that their attachment to their national state and identity is in conflict with a more general European identity (Field 1998). Oakes (2001:165)—citing Vikør (1993:145)—also shows that 'modern young people feel themselves to be Danish (Swedish etc.) *as well as* inhabitants of the 'world-wide America' of pop culture, films and consumption patterns they have grown up with.' This can be seen in the following:

Today, if you live in Florence, for example, you can be a booster of your neighbourhood or city, a Tuscan patriot, a citizen of Italy and an advocate for Europe, all at the same time, or singly on the appropriate occasions (Gale Stakes 1997:184-85 cited in Carmichael 2000:283).

The phenomenon of place polygamy was reflected in Diane's interview. After I asked her about being German, I asked if she was a Berliner, to which she readily agreed.

E: Are you a Berliner?

D: Unhuh, I am.

E: Are you European?

D: Yeah. [laughs] ... Well, I would like to say I'm a citizen of the world, even if sounds like really, blah blah blah. But it's like, I feel in a way like this. Yeah.

Oskar calls himself "an island child" because he was born and raised in West Berlin. While he identifies with being a Berliner and a German, he feels the need to mention that he is part Hungarian. He also seemed quite satisfied with the label European, even though he has not yet been to many European countries.

Even Beatrice, who most readily identifies with Ghana and wants to return there some day, admits that she is also German.

B: Before I went to Ghana two years ago, I thought I'm Ghanaian. No I'm not a German. I'm a Ghanaian. Germans are like this and I don't like them...But when I went to Ghana [laughs], they said I'm German [laughs]...If you are living here, you think you are not German, of course not. But if you go back and the people will realize that your behaviour, how you talk, how you move, that everything is not Ghanaian anymore. But I still say that I'm a Ghanaian...It's the same like with the Turkish people. And if you go there, you realize that you are different...But I'm still a Ghanaian...I hope so.

The fact that Europeans 'marry' a multitude of geographic areas is also reflected in their linguistic competences. Carmichael (2000:286-87) shows that "in their every day lives European often have more than one linguistic identity" and "many pass between dialect and standard language with no problem, but, perhaps more significantly, many use different languages at work or at study." This tendency seems likely to intensify as Europe becomes a more united political and cultural entity. As Oskar notes in his interview:

O: Just for a global or European melting pot, or whatever, it would help to have kind of a European language, which should still be a second language. So you should grow up as a child maybe in elementary school in your own language, French, German, whatever. And then have English as first foreign language.

Globalization and Europeanization are resulting in the fact that students have layers of linguistic identity: mother tongue, national languages, standard language, second languages, etc, which are all used in different contexts for different purposes. Students of English at the language centre use "different languages for different activities in different circumstances: perhaps a regional language [or dialect] at home, the official language of the state or English at work, English on the Internet" (Carmichael 2000:289). This use of different languages expresses an unwillingness to commit to one particular identity and a preference for keeping open several means of expression.

Some students seem to think that through English they can achieve "the identity of a globalized human mankind." English is seen primarily as a key to participation in the internationalization process. As one student noted in his essay:

- In times of globalization /internationalism it is necessary to be able to communicate with all types of English and people. It is important to speak English to be a part of the new, international world.

In the following excerpt from another student's essay, one can see both 'cultural cringe' about being German and the emergence of new identities related to Europe and the world:

- Let's face it: it is not very popular anymore to be identified as a German. We had a bad past and hardly anyone can deny that. Meanwhile some of us might be sick of suffering for the sins of our grandparents' generation while anybody with a bit of common sense understands that the idea of a Third Reich was a silly one. Luckily we are not the first generation that grew up after that horrible age. The reconciliation with the past has already been made by our parents. We grew up with the idea of global thinking. We speak foreign languages with less and less accent and we are anxious to understand the Aborigine's culture as well as the Taliban. I usually forget that I am of German origin.

Here it is clear that a new sense of identity is forming. This identity is not only connected to nationality. Students have layers of identity at local, national, European and global levels. As Pennycook (2003:517) suggests, English is part of these users' identity repertoire. And these identities are partially connected to the use of English as an additional means of expression.

#### **5.5.4 Signs of increasing bi- or multilingualism**

Although today there may be a general feeling of pressure due to American cultural and linguistic dominance, most students did not perceive that their language and culture are endangered by English. These students' perceptions of the role of English in their environment seem to be in line with several studies on global English.

Like these students, many linguists believe that English and other national languages can and do co-exist and that there is no real fear that national languages in Europe will be abandoned. For example, Joseph (2001b:215) maintains that when people express concern about the erosion or loss of a language, the data they give tend to be "extremely partial and superficial" and mostly concern the insertion of single English words into what is otherwise a mother-tongue utterance. He then argues that "such code-switching behaviour is probably universal among bilingual people; it does not necessarily mean that they are losing their awareness of which language is which, or allowing one language to cannibalise the other" (ibid).

What Joseph suggests has been proven in corpus studies demonstrating that many European languages, despite the adoption of loanwords from English, are not 'threatened' in the areas of syntax and grammar. For instance, House's (2003) findings from research projects conducted at

the Universität Hamburg show that the impact of English on German discourse norms in genres such as economic and scientific texts rarely exceeds the import of lexical items. Likewise, after undertaking research in two spoken Swedish discourse domains—the conversation of business meetings in an international shipping company and the casual conversation of young adults—Sharp (2001:199) concludes that:

[I]t is my firm belief that English does not pose a threat to the survival of Swedish. Although English is present in many different contexts, it is in principle used as an auxiliary language for specific purposes in Swedish discourse domains. In this capacity it enriches [the] lexical stock, enables stylistic variation, adds expressivity and signals certain interpersonal relations and values. English words are thus an asset rather than a liability for Swedish speakers.

A similar opinion to Sharp's was expressed by a student who noted in his essay that:

- It is important to leave the simple dualism of being either for or against the use of English expressions in foreign languages behind and look carefully to where it might be fruitful, creative or revitalizing, and...where it enriches the "original" language.

Moreover, the ideas expressed by those who fear for the future of German in the face of English support a monolingual ideology that assumes that languages are in competition and only one language can prosper (see Wiley 2000). Moreover, work that focuses on the dangers of English as a threat to linguistic and cultural diversity relies on nationalist ideology (Holborow 1999), which is viewed with particular suspicion in Germany.

Graddol (1999:66) argues that the increasing use of English in Europe reflects growing bilingualism and will result in further language learning. As English gains currency as a second language in Germany, the foreign language learning space will be freed up for other languages. Results from the data collected at the FU support this assumption. Instead of being satisfied with 'just' knowing English, students continue to strive for multilingualism. Only 2% of those studying English have not learned a second foreign language. The majority, 58%, have learned at least two other foreign languages besides English and 18% have learned three additional languages, meaning a total of five languages.

In many cases, Germany is becoming a place where more and more of its population is proficient in English, so speaking English is becoming a characteristic criterion of 'Germanness.' The

situation may be similar to what Oakes (2001:153) describes about Sweden, where “a good knowledge of English amongst the population may in itself suffice to generate a positive national identity.” This idea is reflected in a student essay:

- The spread of English helps Europeans to construct a hybrid language identity that consists of their mother tongue and English as a second language.

Furthermore, students remarked that since competence in English is practically considered a given in Europe, knowledge of a third or fourth language gives them a competitive edge. This trend can be seen in a student like Diane, who has continued to learn other languages along with English. She tries to maintain the Russian she learned in school, she learned a bit of Ladakh when she was in northern India, she has acquired some basic Italian on holiday and she was in the process of learning French in order to undertake an anthropological project in Benin at the time her interview took place. Alina, too, maintains Greek and French as foreign languages, while Beatrice speaks Ashanti at home, English at university and German with all of her friends.

The use of language by students of English at the FU seems to suggest an arising societal bilingualism. English has not spread as a mother tongue or as a language for everyday, private or intimate use. As Brutt-Griffler (2002) argues, in the global context English does not become the mother tongue of speakers. Instead the community becomes bilingual with English as a second language existing alongside local languages. This theory is further sustained by de Swaan, who argues that within the countries of Europe, increasingly, a state of diglossia<sup>39</sup> exists:

[I]n most domains of society, the national language continues to predominate, but in other spheres the supercentral linking language now prevails. Quickly growing numbers of Europeans have learned English and speak it as their second language. They use it for international communication, in business and transport, science and technology. In some intermediate domains, English and the domestic language compete: in entertainment and advertising, in sports and fashion, for example. But as long as the state maintains its support of the national language, that will weather the pressures of the global language, in a precarious equilibrium of diglossia (de Swaan 2001:151).

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<sup>39</sup> The term diglossia was originally used by Ferguson (1959) to describe the societal use of two varieties of the same language, but Fishman (1972b) extended this concept to refer to the situation that de Swaan describes, where two or more languages are used in by a community. I, however, prefer the terms bilingualism or multilingualism instead of diglossia to describe the context of Europe, as the languages in question are not sharply differentiated into high or low codes in terms of prestige.



Although de Swaan calls this state of diglossia ‘precarious’, he persuasively demonstrates that even though English is used in an increasing range of domains, the nature of European national languages makes it unlikely that they will be driven out of their own countries. He argues that languages like German are robust, as they have been under the protection of the state for two centuries or more and they are imposed in the schools, courts and the bureaucracies in politics and government.

Some European countries, like the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Denmark, are rapidly approaching a state of universal multilingualism and pervasive diglossia: up to 80 per cent of the population is more or less competent in English. But, at present, there are no signs of abandonment or neglect of the national languages. The domestic language continues to function in a series of distinct social domains while English dominates in other domains. Even if switching between the two is frequent, the one hardly encroaches upon the other. If there is no reason for alarm, there is sufficient cause to remain alert: English may make inroads into new speech domains and the national languages may continue to lose prestigious functions. But most probably European languages will prove vital enough to maintain their specific domains under the pressure of English” (de Swaan 2001:56-57).

These feelings about the stability of German as a national language are confirmed by the students of English at the FU. As Oskar noted in his interview:

O: I don’t think people in Germany will start talking in English. I think what will happen is what happens to me sometimes when I try to say something in German and I know the word in English but I don’t have the appropriate word in German ready. And I have the same problem the other way around. Of course this will happen because you can’t translate words one to one.

## **5.6 Conclusion: Going beyond the mother tongue**

This chapter begins by reviewing some contemporary attitudes within Germany that have been expressed about the prominent role that English has acquired within Europe. The use of English has been on the rise within the German primary education system, as primary students are starting to learn the language at an ever-younger age. Moreover, English has been taking on more roles in the German university system, as both the language of publications and of international conferences. These developments, both welcomed and feared, have been the source of much discussion in German politics and media. This chapter captures this discussion by including

several excerpts from the German media which reveal a general fear of English. The most extreme reaction to English can be seen in the formation in the *Verein Deutsche Sprache*, an association that was formed in order to fight the present influx of Anglicisms into the German language. The fear of English hit its peak in 2001 when the mayor of Berlin proposed the implementation of anti-English legislation for all of Germany, which in the end was rejected.

I then discuss some possible reasons for the fear of English. These reasons include:

- There is always a certain amount of linguistic purism (i.e. 'Crumbling castle syndrome' (Aitchinson 1996); 'moral panic' (Cohen 1987).
- Globalization and English are seen to pose a threat to the German language and therefore also to the German nation.
- There is a certain amount of anxiety about the loss of national identity and economic power due to Europeanization.
- There is also some fear of cultural imperialism due to the dominance of American language and culture.

Having established general attitudes in the local context of Berlin, I then compare these macro-attitudes to the attitudes about English that students of English at the FU hold. Here I find that most students do not express the same fear of English that can be perceived in the media. English is seen more as a source of cultural enrichment than a menace. However, these students do react negatively to mixing English in with German, even though many students admitted that they often do this. Even though many disapprove of codeswitching, they do not see the need to prevent it through legislative means.

Realizing that there is a discrepancy between macro- and micro-attitudes, I attempt to discover why students reject the notions of the language protectionists and for the most part embrace English. Here some students express discomfort at any overt expression of national pride, including language protectionism. As a result of World War II, many Germans shy away from any measures to impose a nationalist ideology. Some Germans may even wish to hide in the identity that a foreign language offers. But more often, English offers many Germans the ability to express hybrid identities. English distances these users from the previous generation, it shows their connection to the emerging political and cultural entity of Europe and it expresses their relation to global culture. Finally, these students' uses of English reflect an emerging multilingualism in Europe.

After analysing these students' uses of language, I expect that the national language will continue to serve all necessary functions within Germany, while English becomes the language that connects all Europeans. Since English functions as a second language for an increasing number of Europeans, the foreign language learning slot is being opened up for other European, or minority, languages. This excerpt from a student's essay shows how English is a valuable addition to its users' linguistic repertoires:

- English functions not simply as an aggressor of the German language but as an effective supplement of our main communication tool: language. It is time to think of ourselves beyond our mother tongue!

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## STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENGLISH AND WHAT THEY REVEAL

### 6.1 Student attitudes towards English

In the previous chapters, it has been found that individual case studies facilitate the understanding of the process of globalization by adding particular profiles to overall, general theory. Since the spread of English is an integral part of globalization, analysing the role of English in a particular society provides insight into the overall process. Chapter 4 examines the use of English by a community of students at the FU to see how and where they encounter and employ the language and Chapter 5 examines macro-attitudes to English in Germany and compares them to those of FU students. This section of the study will consider attitudes that the students have towards English and how they identify with it. It will thus add to the findings of the previous chapter, which revealed how English functions as a symbol of a global or European identity for a growing number of Europeans. By closely examining how specific users relate to English, deeper insight into appropriations of the language can be revealed. The most prominent questions to be discussed here concern the students' choices of accent for their own English and the models of English they follow. Here it will be established that students not only follow the British and American norms that they are taught through their formal education. They also embrace other varieties of English, mostly those of places where they have spent a significant amount of time or where they have personal, maybe even familial, ties. There is also a group of learners who claim that they speak a variety of European or German English and that they do not necessarily follow any national L1 model of English. Moreover, statistical analysis reveals that students' attitudes fall into three main groups or clusters—the US friendly cluster, the pro-British cluster and the lingua franca cluster. These findings suggest the need for significant pedagogical adjustments in the teaching of English at the FU; furthermore, the results of this study should also be considered in other contexts where proficient speakers use English as a lingua franca.

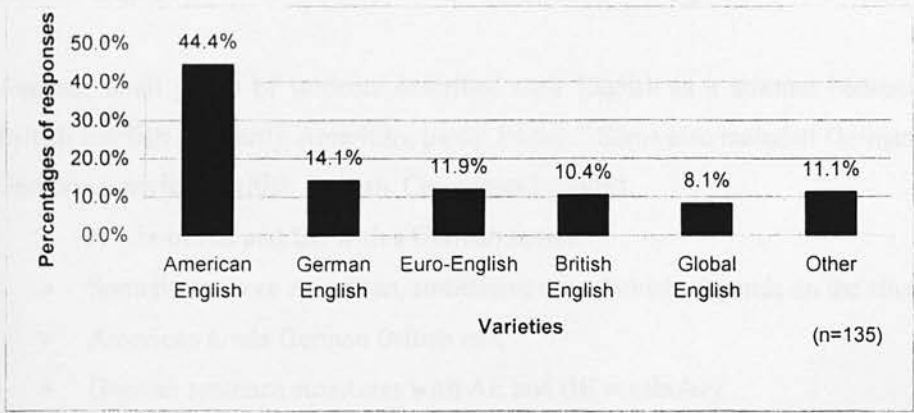
### 6.2 Students' Englishes

A wide variety of English accents can be heard in the language centre and range from heavily-accented German English to native-like southern English or north-eastern American accents. In addition, many students seem to have a mixture of accents. Preisler (2003:123) finds that British and American varieties of English have become “symbols of different life styles [*sic*] in the

Danish population.” In the case of students at the FU, preference for certain accents also seems symbolic of political, cultural and identity choices. As Boxer (2002:3) asserts, “Linguistic choices have to do with underlying and shifting identities...through our moment-to-moment language choices, our very identities are developed and displayed through language use.”

The following section of the questionnaire was intended to elicit what variety of English students have adopted. Students were asked what kind of English they speak and were allowed to provide two different answers. Therefore, the percentages calculated for this variable were based on the number of valid responses (n=135). Here, approximately 44% replied that they speak American English, 14% German English, 12% Euro-English, 10% British English, 8% Global English and 11% replied with ‘other’. These results show that American English is the most popular variety among students. However, when considering German English and Euro-English together (and no two students marked both of these responses), 26% of FU students claim to speak a European variety of English. Here it is surprising that more students reply that they speak German English or Euro-English than British English.

Table 6.1: Varieties of English spoken at the language centre



### 6.2.1 American and British varieties

Later in the survey, students were given an open-ended question and asked to define their English. Here my intention was to discover what categories students came up with on their own to describe the way they speak. The most common answer made reference to some type of American variety. Some students answered with American English, while others specified a regional variety, like northern American English, North East American English, New York American or Mid-western. Others also describe their English as American, but added other



descriptors like, “with too much slang”, “too colloquial” or “rather informal.” Still others commented on their foreign accent: “American with a slight accent”, “artificial American”, “broken American” or “pseudo American.” Fourteen students responded that they spoke German-American English or American English with a slight German accent. Here descriptions included:

- American foreign English
- Americanized, German-accented weird English
- AE but there are still German parts.
- A mix between AE and the English I learned in school from German teachers
- A German speaking English but I guess you hear that I was in America and not in Britain.

Six students responded that their English is British English, but none of them made reference to a specific regional accent. This may be because students are less familiar with regional varieties of British English or because they believe there is a more tangible standard in British English (RP or BBC English) than in American English. Definitions of this sort included: “English with a normal British accent” or “British English, something of the BBC.” A smaller number of students (3) reported that their English is “British German” or BE with some Germanisms in it: one reported that her English is “rather British, not American, with a strong German accent (still).”

Another small group of students described their English as a mixture between American and British English or “partly American, partly British.” Some also included German in this mixture: German-American-British English. Comments included:

- A mix of AE and BE with a German accent
- Sometimes more American, sometimes more British, depends on the situation
- American kinda German British mix
- German sentence structures with AE and BE vocabulary

### **6.2.2 European or German English**

This mix of varieties that students describe is similar to what other students call Euro-English. Four students replied that they speak a European variety of English. This was defined by two students as “a strong German accent using a mixture of American and British English” or “English that does not represent any country.” There were also a few students who claimed that their English is Global English because, for example, they “picked up a little bit from everywhere.”

Five respondents reported that their English was “German English”, heavily accented with no trace of a native variety. One noted that the trace of German accent did not hinder proficiency:

- Fluent with a touch of German sing-sang.

But most students thought of their German accents as an encumbrance:

- Bad German accent and not very fluently.
- German English because of limited abilities.
- Still much too German because I’m German.
- My English is too much influenced by German because I have lived too long in Germany.

A negative attitude towards German English could also be perceived in student interviews. When I asked Alina and Diane whether they spoke German English, they both replied “I hope not.” Alina thinks that German English “sounds silly”:

A: I mean sometimes I do it as well when I don’t think, but this ‘th’ thing, I hate it. When people say zis and zat.

Diane has a similar opinion and said that German English is “a really clumsy English”:

D: I found it always as a compliment when people said, “Where are you from? Are you Scandinavian or something?”

Here it is interesting that Diane would prefer to be perceived as Scandinavian than German. It is not clear whether this is because Scandinavians are generally renowned for being excellent speakers of English (Oakes 2001:165) or because of ‘cultural cringe’ about being identified as German, as mentioned in Chapter 5.

A large number of students (22) described their English in different terms than American, British or German. Either they identified with another place (Bulgarian English, Polish English, etc.) or they simply described their English in terms of abilities (rusty, very poor, generally good, clearly pronounced, quite formal, school English, street English, simple English or colloquial English ). There were also answers like “too mixed up to define anymore,” “Pelgmann English” (which I assume is the person’s last name, so he is referring to his own idiosyncratic variety), and finally “natural, adopting English.”

### 6.2.3 Other Englishes

The survey also demonstrated that many students have had experiences with other Englishes besides British and American and often have preferences for varieties like Australian or Irish

English. Obviously, students come into contact with a wide variety of Englishes and adopt whichever one they like most or are most familiar with. Because they have had many international experiences, they often identify with or have positive feelings about the accent of the place where they have spent most time.

- I got used to the Maltese accent.
- I'd like to think that I have an Irish accent, but it changes as to whom I speak. I want to keep the Irish accent and be identified with Ireland, but I also want to be understood by people outside of Ireland. My English might be some kind of Euro-English.
- I have a mixture of British English and Australian English because I spent holidays in these countries and learned BE in school.
- I have relatives in the US so I got used to AE. But when I was in South Africa and the UK I liked the British accent much more and since then I've been trying to change. But sometimes I get totally confused.

Some of these students also expressed an interest in learning more about English-speaking environments besides the US and the UK.

- I take an interest in Australia and New Zealand and would be happy to find a bigger offer connected to those countries.
- Canada is the country where I would like to live later. I'm very attracted by this wonderful country!!!
- Ireland really impressed me when I went there. It's so special, people are different than here, more friendly and warm and they don't take everything so serious and precise.

Some students also mentioned that in their English studies they would be interested in learning about other countries where English is spoken, like India or African countries like Nigeria, Ghana or South Africa. Although there is relative interest in these topics and students may have mentioned having experience with these Englishes, no students mentioned them as models. One student even expressed concern that her English had been 'spoiled' by Indian English:

- I'm worried about having a bad German and Indian accent since I spent time in Calcutta.

It is also interesting that although two students who I interviewed had broad experience with Indian English, neither Oskar nor Diane considers this variety an option for their own English. Oskar said that although at one point he could understand Indian English fluently, he never

acquired the variety himself. Diane implies that one of the reasons her trip to India was good for her English was because she spent time speaking with other travellers:

E: And when you were in India was English your language of communication?

D: Unhuh. But that's been Indian English, it's like ...[laughing]

E: Can you speak Indian English?

D: [ha ha] uh, well, if I just make fun, yeah. Like, *yes madam of course*, but it takes me a while to get into this. [laugh]

E: So do you think that your time in India was good for your English?

D: Yeah, because I also met people travelling and you always speak English, like. I travelled with a girl from South Africa for two months the first time I was there and then people from all over the world. And you speak English.

#### 6.2.4 Students' preferred accent

Students were then asked whether they are satisfied with their spoken English: 61% are satisfied and 39% are not. This shows that a large number of students are not looking to change their spoken English. Most of the group that is not satisfied with their English would prefer to have a less German accent (because, as one student noted, "it sounds dumb") or no German accent at all (in order "to be perfect," as another student commented). One student noted that she aspires to speak perfect American, so "No one would know I am German... big surprise afterwards." Various other students have claimed that they would like more of an American accent because, for example, "I like it," "it sounds good," "to impress people" or "I think I will be more successful with a better American English." One student considers American to be "the most prominent global standard." Some students gauge their ability in English by how close they are to the native speaker model. Others do not make reference to any national variety of English, but they mention that they would like better pronunciation (especially of /θ/ and /ð/) or "just better", "more educated", "clear and correct" or "more scientific English." Some students replied that their English skills are too colloquial because they lived in an English-speaking environment or spent time travelling, but did not have formal training in the language. Other students say that they are not satisfied with their proficiency because they lack practice and experience abroad in English-speaking countries. Many of these students see living abroad in an English-speaking country as essential to speaking "properly":

- I have never had the possibility to listen to English-speaking movies and spend more time in English-speak countries

### 6.2.5 What formed their variety?

When students were asked why they speak the variety of English that they do, their responses mostly had to do with contact that they have had with the country where that variety of English is spoken. For those who speak a variety of American English, it is mostly due to time spent in the US or from working with Americans. But some say that their accent is a result of going to the movies, listening to American music and reading American literature. Those who speak British English or another variety of English have also spent time in the country where that variety is spoken; for example: “when I was in Australia in 1997 I spoke a lot to my Australian friends, so I adopted this variety of English.” Those who have mixed English also tend to have mixed experience:

- I had British English and American teachers, spent three months in the US and three months in London.
- Life leaves its works.

Students with traces of German in their accent attribute this to the fact that “I am not a native speaker and don’t live in an English-speaking country” or “That’s the best I can do and I am practising.” Others say that they like their accents the way that they are and even enjoy the mix of influences: “it feels good, it’s fun” or “sounds good.”

### 6.2.6 Variety shifting

Students then were asked if they change the variety of English they use according to their interlocutor. Here I found that a majority of 67% are aware of doing so, while 33% are not. In most cases, those who are aware of shifting varieties do so in order to accommodate to their interlocutor. This implies that variety shifting is a necessary skill that students have acquired in order to contribute to international discourse in English.

Among the reasons that students gave for switching among varieties, comprehension was the most common. Obviously these students have experienced unsuccessful communication and they have had to change their way of speaking to be understood by their interlocutors. One student even responded that this shift in language might include a lowering of quality: “I speak my worst English speaking to people that speak bad English.” Other comments by various students include:

- You have to change if he is not understanding.
- I change if I have the feeling that the other person has problems understanding me.



- It's not important which variety one speaks; it is important that one is understood.
- Just try to get the point across, no matter how.

Added reasons for switching varieties are that it is just a reflex that "happens automatically" because you "subconsciously adopt to the way someone else talks." These students are aware of being so-called linguistic accommodators and adapting to the situations they find themselves in:

- When I am talking to someone I automatically pick up words/phrases he is using.
- I always change my accent according to whom I am talking. I feel weird talking with an American accent to someone who speaks with another different accent.
- I just always realize that I do it, even though I think it is not too good when it is done too exaggeratedly.

Some respondents say that they switch because it "shows respect" or "is more polite," while another student claims that she does it "to show off." Others claim that switching varieties is a way to avoid being recognized as a tourist or being judged by an accent.

Finally, it was noted that using a mixture of Englishes reflects a hybrid identity:

- I am a hybrid (I stayed in both Britain and the US).
- I studied both languages.

There were also a few students who responded that they switched because they do not know how not to: their English was so mixed that they do not "know what's what anymore."

For those who answered that they do not switch between different varieties of English, the main reason provided was lack of ability. Some wrote that they have a "limited range", that they are not good enough, do not care enough or, as one student wrote, "My English isn't sufficient enough to make this distinction." Another student noted that it is "hard enough to concentrate on the content of the conversation without worrying about accent." Others feel that they cannot speak differently than they already do or that it is hard to change accents:

- I'm not good in changing accents. I can't imitate them properly.

Some students claim that they do not shift varieties because the other accent is difficult or unfamiliar to them:

- I am used to American English.
- I can't speak British English.

- I don't know many British words.
- I just know British English.

Others students remark that they do not want to speak another variety than the one they do:

- I don't change my Australian English because it's the English that belongs to me.
- I don't imitate British English speakers.
- I like American English and I don't want to switch all the time.
- I want to be seen and heard as someone who studies English and British culture.
- Why should I?

Some students seem to feel that consistency in their use of language reflects stability in character or pride in who they are, as the following comments show:

- Your English should be the same no matter whom you talk to.
- You should stick to one language.

Several students feel that adopting the speech style of an interlocutor makes the speaker look as if she is trying "to imitate them," which was not seen as favourable. Others claimed that "I am what I am and I do my best" or "I don't have to pretend anything." Here the choice whether or not to switch varieties is seen as an identity marker. Some students want to be identified with a particular English-speaking culture, others want to be able to shift these identities and still others do not want to seem like they are trying to be something they are not.

Oskar makes an interesting observation about shifting between varieties of English:

O: Of course it's always interesting to have different slangs or so because they tell you about the culture of a certain place, but if you want to make a global statement, for example, you shouldn't do it in Indian English because most of the people will feel it's funny and you shouldn't do it in Glasgow English because nobody will understand you. Because try to watch *Trainspotting*<sup>1</sup> in the original. Because I don't get it. I just don't understand anything...Generally I would say it's O.K. to have a regional version of a language but you should also be able to speak a global version of it...The regional one will be where the heart is and the 'clean' version, or whatever you want to call it, will be the one where you can make yourself understood.

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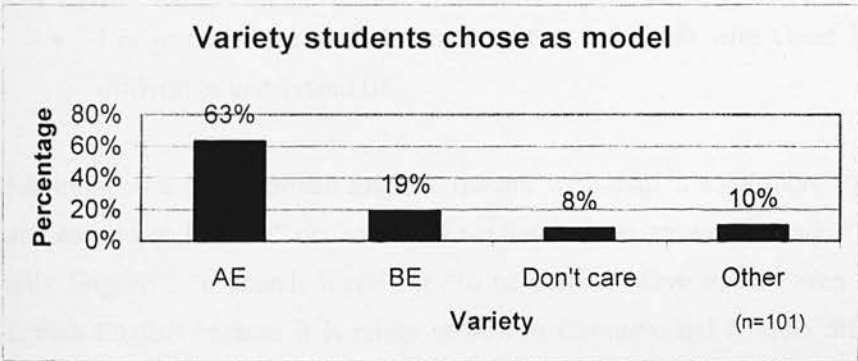
<sup>1</sup> Oskar obviously confused Glasgow English with Edinburgh English, as *Trainspotting* takes place in Edinburgh.

Here Oskar’s opinions are in line with Crystal’s proposal for World Standard Spoken English (1997; 1999). English speakers will have their dialects of use within their local contexts, but when they communicate with people outside these contexts, they will switch into an internationally intelligible variety. In the above excerpt, Oskar suggests that this global variety is more important for learners to be able to access, so that if they only learn one English, this should be a globally comprehensible variety. Once that is accomplished, the English speaker can add other varieties and accents to their linguistic repertoire.

6.3 Students’ model Englishes

When asked which model of English they try to imitate when speaking English, 63% replied that they imitate American English (while only 44% replied that they speak AE), 19% replied that they aspired to speak British English (while only 10% replied that they speak BE), 8% said that they do not care what variety they speak as long as long as they are understood and 10% responded with ‘other,’ such as Australian, Irish or a mixture of models, depending on the context. For the most part, the variety of English that students speak lines up with the variety that they use as a model, although this is not always the case. This shows that more students would like to speak American or British English than actually do.

Table 6.2: Variety students chose as model



Furthermore, the model of English students choose does not necessarily coincide with their study choices. Unsurprisingly, American English is by far the favoured choice of variety for students of NAS (78%). However, it is also very popular among students of EP, with almost the same percentage of EP students preferring American English (37%) as British English (40%). American English is the model most preferred by students of other disciplines, here mostly

students of Business/Economics. The second most popular variety chosen by these business students is “any type of English as long as they are understood,” which shows that these students place great importance on communication in English and not on the variety they speak.

Table 6.3: Variety preferences compared with course of study

	NAS students (n=49)		EP students (n=35)		Other (n=17)
AE	77.6%	(n=38)	37.1%	(n=13)	70.6% (n=12)
BE	8.2%	(n=4)	40.0%	(n=14)	5.9% (n=1)
Other	8.2%	(n=4)	14.3%	(n=5)	5.9% (n=1)
Any type	4.1%	(n=2)	8.6%	(n=3)	17.6% (n=3)
No answer	2.0%	(n=1)	--		--

For those who prefer American English, common reasons given for their choices were that this variety is “more funny and friendly” or “more natural.” Other students think that American English “is mostly represented in modern (global) culture” and “has a stronger impact on culture, movies, media, etc.” Various other responses include “I can understand it better,” “I can identify with it” or “My family and friends speak this variety.” Other answers imply that a choice for a variety of English is just as much a choice against another one:

- British sounds snobby.
- British English is old fashioned.
- I’m just not interested in anything that has to do with Great Britain...It’s also very difficult to understand BE.

For those who prefer British English, reasons were that “it’s got more style” or that it is “clear and easy to understand” or “somehow neutral.” Other answers include: “in my opinion it’s the only English”; “it sounds nicer”; or “to be perfect.” One student even noted that she prefers British English because it is rarely spoken in Germany and is more difficult to imitate. Such comments are similar to ones found in Preisler (1999a), who found that of those who prefer British English, the majority think it’s more ‘cultivated’ than American English. The following excerpt from an interview with Alina shows a common attitude towards American English for those who favour British English. Here it is clear that Alina’s opinions are based on personal experiences with English and that what she finds most objectionable is the arrogance of American English speakers. It seems as if her preference for British is just as much a distaste for American English, or speakers of it:

- E: And you said that British English is the better English.
- A: [Giggle]<sup>2</sup> Yes
- E: Where do you get that idea?
- A: [Giggle] It sounds better. Yes, it sounds better, and em, I often think that, well again, it's this German speaking American English, but it's a different culture or whatever behind it. I don't know, it's this, 'Hey, I speak American English I'm great'. And when I go to Britain I don't, I don't feel that, I don't know.
- E: So the British are more modest?
- A: [Giggle] Yes, maybe.
- E: And you said that you think American English is ugly and British English is more cultivated?
- A: [Giggle] Yes. Well, it's [i.e. the questionnaire] a year ago, but I still think the same.
- E: It's fine.<sup>3</sup> I just wonder where you get such ideas or what makes you think that way?
- A: I think, you could tick it, right? Well, I think it sounds better, British English and what else did I say?
- E: That it's more cultivated
- A: Yes, it sounds more cultivated.
- E: So a person who said the same thing, the same sentence, if they said it in American English and they said it in British English, the British one would sound more intelligent or more cultivated?
- A: Yes.
- E: Is it because it's the older variety?
- A: No, I think it's only because I like Britain more than I like America. It's just. I don't think it would sound more intellectual, but I would honour this person's opinion maybe more maybe than the other's. I don't know.

In the above exchange, it is clear that Alina thinks it is important to learn a regional variety of English, and many other students feel the same way. Although American and, to a lesser extent, British English serve as the most common models for students' Englishes, it is important to mention that 10% of students have other Englishes as their model. One student likes Canadian English "because it's both British and American," while another one prefers Euro-English, so that he will "have the ability to communicate without problem but not to speak the language like the

<sup>2</sup> Here I take it that the respondent is uncomfortable because she knows I am American and she is afraid of offending me.

<sup>3</sup> Here I try to reassure her that I am not offended and prompt her to go on.



mother tongue.” A few students want to add other accents to their repertoire, like Australian or Scottish English and a small group mentioned that that they do not want one English, but the ability to be able to switch between varieties of English. Moreover, 8% of students do not care what variety of English they speak, so for them regional variation is not important.

6.3.1 Britain vs. the US and the British vs. Americans

Further indication of how students feel about the US and the UK can be found in the following section of the survey. As these students are all studying either North American or British Studies, their attitudes to the US and the UK were considered most prominently in this survey. When asked who they like better, the Americans or the British, most students were impartial, as 57% claimed that they like the British and the Americans equally (see Table 6.4). However, a larger number of those who had a preference prefer Americans (29%), while 10% favour the British. This can be compared to Preisler’s (1999a) rather different results, where he found that 27% of his respondents like Britons better as opposed to 20% who favour Americans. Here it can be seen that Americans are viewed more positively by FU students than by the average Dane.

Table 6.4: Who do you like better, the Americans or the British?

	Total (n=101)	NAS students (n=49)	EP students (n=35)	Other (n=17)
Americans	28.7% (n=29)	24.5% (n=12)	22.9% (n=8)	52.9% (n=9)
British	9.9% (n=10)	4.1% (n=2)	22.9% (n=8)	--
Equally	57.4% (n=58)	67.3% (n=33)	48.5% (n=17)	47.1% (n=8)
No answer	4.0% (n=4)	4.1% (n=2)	5.7% (n=2)	--

When looking at the different courses of study at the FU, it can be seen that the students of NAS are the most impartial of the groups, but if they do have a preference, then it is clearly for Americans: 67% of NAS students claim to like the British and Americans equally while 25% prefer Americans and 4% prefer the British. Students of EP are less impartial, as a lower number of students (approximately half) like Americans and British equally. However, the same number of students (23%) prefer the British as those who like the Americans. The students of Business/Economics seem to be the most partial, with none of them preferring the British and 53% liking Americans better. One interesting aspect of this question was that some students were really annoyed, perhaps even offended, by it and 4% even refused to answer. Perhaps they thought it was crude to pose a question about which nation’s people is liked better.

Although in the above question the majority of students (57%) claimed to like the Americans and British equally, responses to the following question suggest that students are not as unbiased as they would like to be. Here a preference for the US clearly comes through in the data. When forced to choose between living in the US or in the UK, without having another possible alternative, 63% of the students polled would prefer to live in the US and 31% in the UK (see Table 6.5). These results are very different from Preisler's (1999a:248), who found that 53% of Danes would prefer to live in the UK and 43% in the US. This may be because the population for my study is younger on average than that of Preisler's and younger students are more prone to like the US (see Preisler 1999a). Moreover, the stronger connection that Berlin in general and the FU in particular have had with the US plays a part in this strongly pro-US attitude. The following quotes give some insight into why FU students would prefer to live in the US:

- The US is more modern.
- I find USA more exotic than Great Britain.

When looking at the courses of study separately, it can be seen that it is the students of NAS and other disciplines that would mostly prefer to live in the US. The students of EP are again equally divided, with approximately half preferring the US and the other half preferring the UK.

Table 6.5: Which country would you prefer to live in if you were forced to choose between the UK and the US?

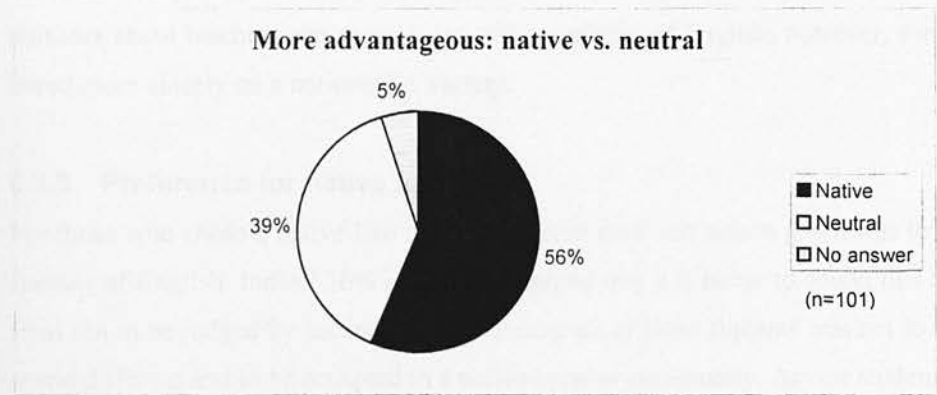
	Total (n=101)	NAS students (n=49)	EP students (n=35)	Other (n=17)
US	63.4% (n=64)	71.4% (n=35)	48.6% (n=17)	70.6% (n=12)
UK	30.7% (n=31)	20.4% (n=10)	48.6% (n=17)	23.5% (n=4)
No answer	5.9% (n=6)	8.2% (n=4)	2.8% (n=1)	5.9% (n=1)

Seeing that the majority of language centre students prefer the US, one can conclude with certainty that students do not necessarily choose their course of study because of a particular feeling of connection to an English-speaking country. They seem to choose either EP or NAS according to their career choice and not necessarily because of a desire to one day live in the country about which they are studying. Finally, the responses to the two survey questions discussed here were limited to the US and the UK, so it should be kept in mind that, as mentioned above, several students expressed interest in other English-speaking countries, i.e. Canada, India, Ireland and South Africa.

6.3.2 Going native vs. being neutral

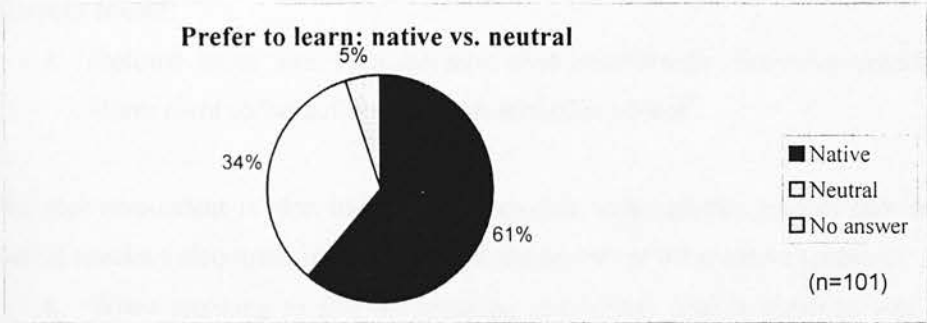
The following questions were designed to gauge students’ reactions to the theories of by Modiano (2000; 2001), Jenkins (2000; 2002) and Seidlhofer (2001a; 2002b), who promote the teaching of a type of English in Europe that would function as the lingua franca without its learners having to adopt native speaker norms. Students were asked whether they feel it is more advantageous to have a “native-like accent of one variety of English” or “a neutral variety of English that does not represent one culture or country.” Here 56% of FU students feel that a native-like accent of one variety of English is more advantageous, while 39% feel that it is better to have a neutral variety that does not represent one culture or country. Five students chose not to answer this question.

Table 6.6: What is more advantageous? A native-like accent of one variety or a neutral variety that does not represent one culture or country



In a similar question, students were asked whether they would prefer to learn “a native variety of English” or “a neutral, non-cultural variety of English” if given the option. In response, 61% said that they would prefer to learn a native variety, 34% preferred a neutral variety and 5% did not answer. Here the results are very similar to those of the previous question, although 5% more are in favour of the native variety in the second question. This may be because of the difference in the way the question is phrased. In the first question the preference for a native variety was limited to “one variety of English,” while in the second question the choice for a native variety is broader. After providing their answer, students were asked to explain their choices.

Table 6.7: What would you prefer to learn? Native variety or neutral, non-cultural variety



Here it is interesting to note that table 6.2 shows 63% of students claim to have American English as their model and 19% British English (a total of 82% of students), but a smaller number of 61% of students responded that they would prefer to learn a native variety of English. Obviously their attitudes about teaching are open to nonnative varieties of English; however, their own model is based more closely on a national L1 variety.

6.3.3 Preference for native variety

For those who chose a native-like accent, the most common reason given was to pass as a native speaker of English. Indeed 36% of students agreed that it is better to sound like a native speaker so as not to be judged by accent. A primary concern of these students was not to stand out, not to sound different and to be accepted in a native-speaker community. As one student noted, “You’re not recognized as foreign (or at least not right away).” Other reactions given by various students include:

- Then people won’t think I’m a tourist.
- People won’t ask all the time where I learned English.
- To be more accepted.
- I am a foreign language speaker of English and I have always wished I were not. I wanted to be able to speak English as fluently as I can speak German.

Similarly, some students expressed that their goal was not to be perceived as German:

- My personal goal is to speak English so fluently with all its special qualities one day that nobody can expose me as a German native speaker anymore.

These students are apparently aware of the judgments that are made when hearing a foreign or German accent:

- Optimal ist es eine Fremdsprache ohne erkennbaren Akzent zu sprechen, so daß der Hörer nicht sofort auf die Herkunft schließen könnte<sup>4</sup>.

Another respondent is alert to language prejudice, although this student fails to recognize that native speakers also make judgments about the accents of other native speakers:

- When speaking to English speaking people they tend to listen to you knowing where you're from and they have prejudice but not when they think that you're an English-speaking person as well.

Another reason reported for wanting to learn a native variety of a language is to learn about the culture or country where the language is spoken. Respondents wrote that they like the fact that a variety is "connected to a certain culture" and that they have "the possibility to identify with the country and its people." They also claim that these cultural connections make language learning easier and more fun. Moreover, native varieties of English are regarded as more interesting or more prestigious by these respondents and they are thought to elicit more respect. Many claimed that speaking a native variety gives off an air of self-confidence or professionalism: "It appears more educated if you are able to speak in a native-like accent," while others prefer to have a native accent "cause it sounds cool."

Some of these respondents are concerned with what they called 'authenticity' and consider a native variety as more natural, original or pure. A native variety is preferable because it does not "sound artificial," as another student noted:

- Speaking a language that doesn't belong to a certain culture/country can't seem to be real.

According to the results of various students' data, native varieties are also thought to be "more alive" than a neutral variety of English and thus "more interesting" and "colorful." Moreover, they are often seen as "better" or "more correct" and one student's reason for choosing this model was "I want to be as good in speaking English as I can." Moreover, learning a native variety of English was considered by another student as "learning English the right way." Finally, some students suggested that a neutral variety is "impossible" or "very hard to learn."

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<sup>4</sup> It is optimal to speak a foreign language without a recognizable accent, so that the listener cannot immediately trace your origin.



#### 6.3.4 Preference for neutral variety

The respondents who prefer a native-like variety of English have comprehension as a common reason for this choice, but interestingly enough, so do the respondents who prefer a neutral variety. Many of those who chose a neutral variety of English remarked that they prefer a variety that they consider more democratic, offering opportunities for everyone in the world to communicate on equal grounds:

- There would be less problems understanding each other.
- It offers the same chances for everyone.
- It's a lingua franca.
- It's more universal.

Neutral English is considered to be more "open" or "flexible." For example, one student finds that neutralness allows a speaker to have "higher potential of communication in every English-speaking part of the world." As another student remarked, "It's the best way to be universally understood." Still others report that "you might be equally well understood wherever you go; with an accent you might be reduced to class or region." Others claim that times of globalization require a neutral lingua franca:

- In a world of internationalization and globalization, would it make sense to learn a culturally restricted variety?
- For global use with mainly nonnative speakers, no accent is preferable.
- There should be an international language which doesn't depend on a special country/tradition.

Not only do they consider that "neutral" English is easier to understand for everyone, but it is also easier to learn as "it's hard to achieve a native-like accent of one variety." These students' choices seem pragmatic and realistic, as they see the native speaker goal as unattainable (see also Timmis 2002).

However, pragmatism is not these students' only concern. Like the students who prefer a native variety, students who prefer a neutral variety of English also show a concern for authenticity. In these respondents' opinion, it is "more authentic for a nonnative speaker not to imitate an accent." Here 16% of students agreed that "it is better not to try to mimic native speakers, as you should not pretend to be from somewhere that you are not." Unlike the students in the category above,

who were sometimes concerned with covering up their nationality, these respondents feel that they cannot and do not want to escape their identity. Some claim the right to have a nonnative accent and refuse to be ashamed of it; like some of the subjects of Meierkord's (2002) study, they wish to incorporate their 'home' identity into their English:

- It might be possible to bring nuances of meaning from your native language across and you don't sound phoney.
- If you're not a native speaker, you shouldn't try to sound like one.
- I'm no native speaker, so why should I have a strange accent?
- If you have a native like accent you might be mistaken for somebody you aren't.
- I wouldn't say that I would try to work on an accent just to show people that I'm from Germany. But I also don't try to pretend that I'm not German (from interview with Oskar).

Moreover, a neutral accent is thought to be beneficial "because you can swap and adopt and may not be disliked for being put close to one camp." Such responses imply that a native-like accent is interpreted as some sort of allegiance to the country where that variety is spoken. Others said that "I'm not connected with the US" or "I don't feel connected to a certain part of the English speaking world" and therefore do not connect with a native variety.

Just as those who prefer a native variety are concerned with language prejudice, so are these students, but for different reasons. Respondents who prefer a neutral variety want to be recognized as nonnative speakers of English, as they do not want to be mistaken as someone who comes from an English-speaking culture. They mention that native accents can be "stigmatising" or could force the speaker "in one special corner just because of your language."

Finally, it was interesting to find that some students (5%) thought that it made no difference what English they spoke as long as they spoke English. I received a few answers like "Who cares?" or "It actually doesn't matter as long as you know the language." Moreover, some of those who prefer to learn a native variety of English seem to doubt the concept of a neutral variety: "I don't think there can be a neutral variety," "There is no neutral, non-culture based variety," "A language that is not based on a culture is an artificial construct," "What is neutral?" or "What is a neutral variety of English?"

Considering these results, it would be beneficial to carry out further research to find whether students' preferences for certain varieties may be correlated with the fact that they are imagining different interlocutors. It would be expected that those who aim to live and work in an English-speaking environment want to acquire a native-like accent. But for those who imagine themselves working in a global environment, communicating mostly with other L2 speakers of English, their goals of learning English may be different. Both of these groups of respondents would be responding to 'integrative motivations' for learning a particular variety of English (Gardner and Lambert 1972), but they would be imagining themselves integrating into different communities.

Concerning 'instrumental motivations' for learning a particular variety of English (Gardner and Lambert 1972), only 26% of respondents think that their potential employers might prefer a specific variety of English. This means that most students' choice for varieties is based on their own preferences and not on potential market value. Of those who think that it will matter, the responses were divided fairly evenly: 12 (32%) think they will prefer American English, 11 (30%) think it will be British English. Most of these respondents are future teachers who know that "BE is the English that I am supposed to speak as a teacher of German pupils." There were also 9 students (24%) who replied that the preferred variety would be 'Global English.'

## **6.4 Cluster Analysis**

After analysing the data collected from the questionnaires, it became clear that there were certain patterns in students' answers. In order to find out more about these patterns, I carried out a Ward cluster analysis: an exploratory statistical technique used to sort cases into groups or clusters so that the degree of association between members of the same cluster can be brought out (Kaufman and Rousseeuw 1990). A cluster analysis is defined as the partitioning of data into meaningful subgroups (Everitt 1997). In order to partition the data, eight variables were chosen as the ones that best represent student attitudes towards varieties of English and highlight the contrast between British and American English. These variables were:

1. Apart from your native country, to which country do you feel most connected? (Question 8)
2. To which countries have you been (for longer than a month), for how long and why? (Question 23)
3. If you were to name the type of English you speak, what would you call it? (Question 41)
4. Which model of English do you try to imitate when you speak English? (Question 42)

5. When you read novels or watch movies or documentaries dealing with the history and culture (or any other aspect of society in general) of an English-speaking country, which country interests you most? (Question 43)
6. Whom do you like best, the Americans or the British? (Question 50)
7. Which country would you prefer to live in, if you were forced to choose between the UK and the US? (Question 51)
8. What do you like best, British English or American English? (Question 52)

The answers to these questions often had multiple responses, but for the analysis of the clusters only the responses which included the US, UK, American English, British English, or the lack of these responses were considered. The results of the cluster analysis presented three different clusters. Once the clusters were established, I interviewed students from each of the three categories. In the end, I conducted five interviews: two students from clusters 1 and 3 and one student from cluster 2, the smallest cluster.

#### **6.4.1 Results of the Ward cluster analysis**

Table 6.8 illustrates the results of the Ward cluster analysis. The plus or minus tendencies in the table were established by calculating how far the cluster mean for each response deviates from the mean of the population (which is 0) for that response. In the table, it can be clearly seen that the US-friendly cluster reacted more positively than average to the American-oriented questionnaire responses. The US-friendly cluster is similarly negative about the British answers. In the second cluster, the respondents tended very strongly towards the British-oriented questionnaire responses and they also have rather negative opinions about American English and living in the US. The lingua franca cluster, on the other hand, is the least likely to have been abroad, to feel connected to the US or the UK, to speak American or British English or to be interested in American or British culture. The only observable preference they have is for the British, living in Britain and hearing British English.

Table 6.8: Results of the Ward cluster analysis

	1	2	3
	US-friendly cluster	Pro-British cluster	Lingua franca cluster
	(n=54)	(n=13)	(n=34)
Most connected to: US	+	–	–
Country visited: US	+	–	–
Their variety: AE	+	--	–
Variety imitated: AE	+	--	Ø
Read about: US	+	–	–
Like best: the Americans	+	–	–
Country prefer to live: US	+	--	–
Variety like best: AE	+	–	–
<hr/>			
<i>Most connected to: UK</i>	–	++	Ø
<i>Country visited: UK</i>	Ø	+	–
<i>Their variety: BE</i>	–	++	–
<i>Variety imitated: BE</i>	–	++	Ø
<i>Read about: UK</i>	–	+	Ø
<i>Like best: the British</i>	–	+	+
<i>Country prefer to live: UK</i>	–	++	+
<i>Variety like best: BE</i>	–	++	+

Table 6.9: Key to cluster analysis

++	=	very strong tendency to positive response	(cluster mean $\geq 1.0$ )
+	=	strong tendency to positive response	( $1.0 > \text{cluster mean} \geq 0.2$ )
Ø	=	no tendency	( $0.2 > \text{cluster mean} > -0.2$ )
–	=	strong tendency to negative response	( $-0.2 \geq \text{cluster mean} > -1.0$ )
--	=	very strong tendency to negative response	( $-1.0 \geq \text{cluster mean}$ )

6.4.2 Cluster 1: The US-friendly cluster

Cluster 1 (with 54 members) is composed of students who feel somehow connected to the US. This is perhaps because they are more likely to have visited there, although many of them have also been to the UK. These students tend toward American-biased answers: They express a



preference for American English and use it as their model, they have culture and historical interests in the US, they like Americans better and they would prefer to live in the US if given the choice. This group is somewhat enthusiastic about the US, but the members do not strongly or exclusively tend to this (as is the case with cluster 2). Therefore, it may be appropriate to call them the US-friendly cluster.

The interviewees Steffen and Diane represent the US-friendly cluster. Steffen is what I would call a US enthusiast. His hobbies are everything concerning English and English-speaking countries, especially the US. After high school, he went to the US for six weeks to visit friends and during that time, his English improved immensely. This visit caused him to study NAS and he now travels to the US whenever he can. Steffen sounds convincingly American because of native-like intonation and the use of weak forms. His speech is also flavoured with the conversational fillers *um*, *like* and *you know*. His pronunciation is marked by nasalized vowels, rhotic /r/, and the use of a flap for intervocalic /t/ such that *letter* is realized as [lɛrə̃].

Steffen loves English and takes every opportunity to use it: He even laments the fact that his family does not use English at home, as can be seen in this excerpt from his interview:

- E: So you don't use English at home or anything?  
S: Unfortunately not.  
E: Unfortunately?  
S: Unfortunately, I love to. I mean, I love to speak English.  
E: Yeah?  
S: Definitely.

He watches cable in English, listens almost exclusively to American bands, writes emails to friends in the US that he met on his travels and reads more in English than in German. Steffen even looks like an American college student in his baggy t-shirts and khaki shorts. He laughs embarrassedly when I ask about his taste in clothing and struggles to explain his preference:

- S: Yeah, I don't know [Laughs] I feel like I'm totally, I don't know, like, despising Germany and, I don't know, trying to be American. I don't know. I don't know. It's so weird. I don't know why I like the American dressing style better than the German one. It's probably because it's different and something new, not something I've seen my entire life. I don't know why. It's, it's all part of me being attracted to the States. I don't know.

Steffen was in the UK once in the 11<sup>th</sup> grade for two weeks, but it made no special impression on him, partially because he has no British friends and also because he feels that it is too similar to Germany. As he says:

S: It's not that I despise England...It was alright...it's just that it's not very special, I feel. I mean, I've not seen a lot of England...I think it's a beautiful country, you can tell, but I don't know...England, it's not very much different. It's so European, so it's not really, I don't know, there's nothing that really attracts me a lot.

Steffen is rather extreme in his tastes and therefore may not be a typical example of someone in the US-friendly cluster. Diane is perhaps more representative. Like Steffen, she was influenced by American music and literature in her teenage years; she especially loved Jack Kerouac and Jim Morrison. As she says, the US is "a big legend when you grow up in Germany." Diane's English does not sound native-like; she has maintained German-like intonation and makes grammatical mistakes, but she remains very communicative. She was taught British English in school and her first contact with English outside Germany was on a three-week trip to the UK where she attended a language school when she was fourteen. Still she says that her English is more American because American culture had such a great impact on her. This American influence can be heard in her use of the conversational fillers *like* and *you know*.

D: I don't know. I find [British English is] a funny accent to me. But for me it would be difficult to speak like this, I think. And maybe also from the movies or from the music or when I went there [to the US]. Like when I was 16 or 17, I've been to the States. It's been maybe more influential, I don't know why.

Since high school, Diane has been to the US on two holidays. But Diane is annoyed that Germans do not resist American policy more. Diane disagrees with many of the policies of the US government, but because of her personal connections with the country would not classify herself as anti-American (which she claims some of her friends to be). As she said:

D: It's not a thing being pro [American] or not. I think there are many beautiful people I know in America. And I don't want to say, I don't like you anymore or you have a bad country. Or your president, or whatever, is bad.

Although Diane's questionnaire answers landed her in the US-friendly cluster, she is in fact a student of EP. When I asked her why she chose this subject instead of NAS, she said that she

thought NAS might focus too specifically on the US. However, her study choice seems to have much more to do with the type of people she imagined would be studying NAS than the subject matter. In the following, she expresses dislike for students that have been to the US, who are very enthusiastic about the US (perhaps those like Steffen above) and come back from a year abroad thinking they know everything:

D: I wasn't sure, you know. I was just choosing. I wanted to study English and then I thought Anglistik [EP]. I wasn't thinking too much about it. Maybe I thought because there's also so many people been one year in America. And then they come back and know everything about America. And [this] sounds maybe really ridiculous but I know this from school and it's kind of strange.

I then asked Diane if she was now focusing more on Britain in her studies like she planned, but she is not. Her main interests still revolve around the US:

D: I'm focusing more on America than Britain. I've just been there three months ago. And I like it a lot. I mean there's a lot of bullshit going on. But I always think that, like Germany, if there's a lot of things not working, there's always something which is very interesting. And I've been to places like San Francisco and New York and they just blew my mind. I've been to the south, like Mississippi and Alabama, like five years ago. And that's completely another story. And I find it very interesting, like, how you can see the US...I think it's a such a big country, it's like Europe, you know. And there's so many differences in Europe and yet this is in one country. With one language. A lot of accents, but still one language.

Although this excerpt shows clear interest in the US, Diane's interest and connection with English go further than an affinity with the US. As a child she spent six years in Egypt where English was often the language of communication among foreigners. She also spent two years travelling in India and Nepal, where her main language of communication was English; she even taught English lessons to Buddhist nuns in the Himalayas. Because of all this, she says she feels close to English.

#### **6.4.3 Cluster 2: The pro-British cluster**

Students in cluster 2 are inclined to have stronger preferences than those in cluster 1. This is a much smaller group, consisting of only 13% of the population (13 students), but they are much more homogeneous in their choices: They strongly prefer British English (BE) and use it as their

model. They also overwhelmingly feel connected to the UK and would prefer to live there than in the US. They are more likely to have been to the UK (although some have been to the US), to be interested in British culture and history and to like the British better than the Americans. This group's zest for Britain is interesting, but what is equally significant is their distaste for the US. They have a strong aversion to American English. This group could therefore be called the pro-British cluster. As the following British enthusiasts noted:

- I cannot really say why; probably I was born with this enormous interest in Britain. I like their style, music and pronunciation.
- I prefer speaking and listening to British English. Most of my favourite authors or directors come from England or Ireland. I like the English culture (e.g. music).

The representative member of this group is Alina, who has retained her mainly southern English accent despite studying NAS. Alina's English is marked by the use of long vowels in words like *can't* [kɑːnt] and non-rhotic /r/.

Alina was motivated to study NAS for instrumental reasons; when she started university she had the objective of working in public relations for organizations like UNICEF, which are mostly in the US. Moreover, she wanted to study something related to English, but did not choose EP because she was already familiar with England and wanted to learn something different.

As shown in section 6.3, Alina prefers BE because she finds American English arrogant and even thinks that British sounds more cultivated or modest. What she really dislikes is Germans who speak American English. She complains about students of NAS who spent time in the US because "they think they're great and that everything that is American is great." She gets frustrated with uncritical, unquestioned acceptance of everything American. It is not that she is not interested in the US and, when asked, she does not think that she is anti-American. She has also been on holiday in the US, but she definitely prefers the UK. When I asked her why, she replied, "England is just, I can't say, it's just that when I go there, I like it."

#### **6.4.4 Cluster 3: The lingua franca cluster (ELFs)**

Cluster 3 represents a group of students that are not so easily classifiable. These students show neither pro-American nor pro-British tendencies. This sample is made up of a significant percentage of the population—34%. As table 6.8 shows, this group is distinguished by equally avoiding targeting both British and American English. If these students have a preference for a

certain variety of English, then it is one that is not taught in the language centre, like Australian or Irish English. However, the most common answers to what variety of English they speak was some kind of hybrid, for example:

- American-German English
- Ambrit English
- A mix of Englishes with a German accent

In many cases, these students do not aim to acquire a particular native model of English but rather 'good' English or a mixture of varieties depending on the context. Many of these respondents claim that they prefer to have a nonnative accent of English that is neither entirely American nor British. This, they feel, will leave the market open to them and allow them to communicate in all English-speaking environments. They are neither particularly interested in British nor American culture or history—preferring instead India, African countries, or other European countries like Italy, Sweden or France. Their only partialities become evident in the final three questions: they prefer the British to the Americans, would prefer to live in the UK than the US and prefer British to American English.

This preference for Britain may be explained by the fact that these students' attitudes seem to be European in orientation and Britain is part of Europe. As Oskar, one member of this cluster, pragmatically suggests:

O: We're in Europe so let's have it British English.

E: Because it's close?

O: Because it's Europe, not yet, but might be, so...Of course other people will argue that nobody talks British English anymore. All the kids have more of an affinity to American English because of MTV and whatever. But in Germany, for instance, at school you learn British English and I think that in most of the other countries in the EU still. So if they start talking with an American English, who cares? When you start speaking English, you'll know sooner or later that there is a difference, and even I mix them up. I don't think that matters.

Moreover, Ladegaard (1998) has found that Europeans are more inclined to look to Britain for support and identification. Since British standards of English have traditionally been taught in European schools and reinforced through further education, BE is often felt to be the appropriate variety for Europeans to learn.



As these students express no feeling of connection to either the US or the UK, they may therefore be seen as the lingua franca cluster, the cluster that views English as a tool and a link to the international community. Following Seidlhofer, who has coined the term ELF for English as a lingua franca, these students could also be called ELF Speakers (ELFS). One example of the thoughts of a lingua franca cluster student can be found in the following reaction:

- I don't care about what Clinton does in his private life; just when the US army go and kill poor country's people and Great Britain supports, and I don't really care about England. I suppose I study English because it's become the Latin of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The first representative of the lingua franca cluster is Oskar, who studies NAS. Oskar's English is clearly influenced by German intonation and pronunciation but he rarely makes grammatical mistakes. Slight traces of an American accent can be heard in his use of rhotic /r/ and in some vowels, like in the word *bad* [bæd]. However, there are no strong features of any national variety of English.

As a child, Oskar went to an American international school in Bangalore for two years. He has also spent holidays in both the US and the UK but has not spent a significant amount of time in either country. His reason for studying NAS is that it is easy; he is good at English due to his time spent in India. Although he reads in English about 50% of the time, he does not use much English in his daily life—not much at university and not at all in his private life. Oskar says he has become fed up with the US since studying NAS. Like Diane and Alina, he is annoyed that there are many students who are fascinated by American culture but are not critical of it. Through his studies he has become much more critical of the US. When I asked him why he would rather go to the UK than the US he said:

O: I must say that I kind of, I'm fed up with American culture. It's just too much. And I think, I don't think that going there would give me anything I don't get here. I mean, I live in Germany, I can go to a Dunkin Donuts, I can go to Walmart even...but I don't bother. And so why should I go to the States?

Oskar's model of English is what he calls "the best English possible"; his goal is to be understood and that is it. For him, English is a means of communication and he is not interested in having a

native-like accent or identifying with an English-speaking culture. As he says, "I'm not from an English-speaking country, so why should I?"

Beatrice, the other student interviewed from the lingua franca cluster, lived in Ghana until she was twelve and used English in school there. Since then, she has been living in Germany and has become German. She is now studying EP and wants to be a teacher. English was like another mother tongue for her before she came to Germany, but now she says her English is worse than her German. Beatrice failed the entrance exam to study English at the FU and was put into a remedial course, which surprised and upset her. When I asked why she thought she failed, she said: "My English is not like your English or like my cousins who live in London because I still have this Ghanaian English." However, she also noted that many of the problems she has with English come from interference from German: "The mistakes I do, they are not typical Ghanaian mistakes now; they are German mistakes." Ghanaian English is the variety Beatrice speaks, but she says she learned written British English in school, both in Ghana and in Germany. When I asked her whether she preferred British English to American English, she showed no real preference, although she finds American English easier to understand. Beatrice chose to study British English because she thinks her English is more British, but, as she says, "There is nothing British about me." Her pronunciation does not reflect any influences from German or American English.

## **6.5 Cluster implications**

In Chapter 4, it was revealed that students of English at the FU value the use of English for international purposes and often use the language in a number of global domains. In this chapter it has been established that although students' uses of English are global and they perceive the language as a means to get in touch with the rest of the world, the majority of them (61%) still prefer to acquire a regional version of English and still have a native model as their goal.

However, this survey also shows that a significant number of students—approximately a third—are not interested in using English as a language connected to the US or the UK. The lingua franca cluster, which is partially prone to British English but largely unconcerned with particular varieties of English, represents English learners who are neither especially interested in English-speaking cultures nor interested in going abroad. If these students do identify with any English-speaking country, then it is countries like Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, India, Ghana or Nigeria and not the US or UK. Similarly, if they have a preference for certain varieties of English,

then they are varieties like Australian or Irish. Their interest in British English and British people may be explained by the fact that Britain is a part of Europe. Or, like the subjects of both Preisler's (1999a) and Ladegaard's (1998) study, they may simply wish to carry on in the tradition of teaching British English, as it is seen as the most pragmatic and effective means of teaching English in Europe.

This cluster may represent a type of language learner who is simply interested in using English for functional purposes, as House (2002) suggests. In fact, 23 students from the *lingua franca* cluster (68% of cluster 3) agree that "English is a tool for communication and I don't identify with any English-speaking culture." The views of the students in the *lingua franca* cluster can be compared to the opinion expressed by a student in the Seidlhofer and Widdowson (2003:120) study of English majors in Vienna:

Whenever I talk English I still feel Austrian not American or Australian or Canadian. So I do not identify with the country whose tongue I use to communicate. It is simply an instrumentally opportune medium of communication, not a cultural symbol to identify with...it is important, as House says that you remain true to your personality, your style, wit, humor and social charm, you just should be able to transfer it into the language needed. That is what I as a teacher should get across. The students do not learn English for me or for understanding Shakespeare they learn it to be able to find their way all over the world.

But this cluster may also represent students who are forming a deliberate internationalist identity that extends beyond associations with English-speaking countries. Brutt-Griffler (2002:176) suggests that an internationalist culture is forming on the basis of a world system of common political structures and media outlets: "An identifiable shared subjective knowledge is emerging, buttressed by cosmopolitan, multicultural world urban centers," places like Berlin. Pennycook (2003:528-29) also argues that "English is used to perform, invent and (re)fashion identities across borders." In this sense, English is a language that can express local identities; it can express a willingness to communicate at a European level; it can connect a speaker to certain English-speaking countries; and it can also signify identification with certain global trends.

### **6.5.1 Implications for English teaching at the FU**

The finding that many students of English are not particularly interested in the histories and cultures of English-speaking countries but are still enrolled in philology-based study programmes

highlights the fact that the university system does not offer professionally-oriented language courses: students who are interested in expanding their skills in English are forced to make a choice between studying NAS and EP, as they have no other options. Even though the majority of students still subscribe to a weak or strong attachment to national models of English, the results of this study suggest that the university needs to move away from (only) teaching the philologies. Many students expressed an interest in learning about other English-speaking cultures and other varieties of English beyond those of the US and the UK and nearly all of them noted their needs for the language in international contexts. However, their English education continues in a national tradition strongly centred on the US and UK, their courses are designed to prepare them for communication with native speakers and near-nativeness remains the goal of language training. Helene Decke-Cornill criticizes German universities for adhering to a system that

remains very much embedded in the philological realm of British and American studies, both culturally and linguistically, with a literary canon that mirrors the ‘Great Tradition’. It continues in the vein of “the Herder-Humboldt notion that languages must be seen as expressions of cultures so that one’s own language means the acculturation to one’s own culture and foreign language learning the acculturation to a foreign culture. As far as languages are concerned, all pedagogical programmes since the mid 19<sup>th</sup> c. have been based on that conviction” (Hüllen 1998:288 cited in Decke-Cornill 2002:14-15, her translation).

Further evidence for the need to move away from teaching the philologies is provided by the results of the cluster analysis. This data clearly demonstrates that students’ interests and motivations in studying English do not necessarily coincide with their choice of study, as table 6.10 demonstrates.

Table 6.10: Cluster analysis broken down by course of study

		NAS students (n=49)		EP students (n=35)		Other (n=17)	
<b>1 US-friendly cluster</b>	<b>(n=54)</b>	59.2%	(n=29)	40.0%	(n=14)	64.7% (n=11)	
<b>2 Pro-British cluster</b>	<b>(n=13)</b>	4.1%	(n=2)	28.6%	(n=10)	5.9% (n=1)	
<b>3 Lingua franca cluster</b>	<b>(n=34)</b>	36.7%	(n=18)	31.4%	(n=11)	29.4% (n=5)	

Here it can be seen that, while ten out of thirteen students in the pro-British cluster are students of EP, the students of EP are scattered fairly evenly among the three different clusters. This means that those who study English philology are a heterogeneous group and do not necessarily follow



one model of English learning. As the study of EP is not necessarily focused on Britain alone but also on linguistic and pedagogical studies, there is no real reason to expect students who study EP to have a preference for the UK. Several students of EP, like Diane, focus more on the US in their studies, despite their choice for a broader course of study. Moreover, the EP students in the *lingua franca* cluster, like Beatrice, seem to be more interested in other non-British English speaking cultures, like Ireland, Australia or New Zealand. They also expressed interest in the uses of English in India, Nigeria or other English-speaking cultures, which implies that English studies could further widen its field of study to include postcolonial contexts and other environments where English is used as a *lingua franca*.

The distribution of NAS students among the three clusters is rather different from that in EP, but very similar to the distribution of students of other disciplines. The majority of these students are in the US-friendly cluster, which is to be expected considering that they, like Steffen, are likely to have lived in the US, made friends there and, as a result, feel connected to the country. However, a significant number of NAS students (37%) belong to the *lingua franca* cluster, like Oskar, and these are students who are highly critical of the US and see their skills in English as a pragmatic link to the international community. Moreover, a small minority of NAS students, like Alina, belong to the pro-British cluster. A similar pattern can be found among the students of other disciplines.

Considering these results, it cannot be assumed that students who pursue NAS are necessarily interested in the US. Americans. American English and American culture. This result may have something to do with the nature of NAS, which is comprised of a wide range of courses, including Postcolonial Studies, Culture Studies, Media Studies, History and Political Science. While the US is central to these subjects, this fact does not necessarily imply that the students following them are pro-American. In fact, students may become more critical of the US and its ideologies and policies through their studies. This was the case for Oskar, as shown in the excerpt from his interview above, as well as for the following student, who wrote:

- Being a student of North American Studies can cause uneasiness these days. Everyone who doesn't study this subject assumes of those who do that they entertain a great enthusiasm about everything that is American, i.e. that they are absolutely in accord with American politics, American culture, American economy, and even with the American educational system. This is, however, barely ever the case. A student of American Studies, therefore, might find himself attributed with attitudes he doesn't nourish—



attitudes he might, indeed, find most objectionable in those who do nourish them. For students of American Studies are America's severest critics.

Ultimately, various personal experiences and political preferences play an important part in students' decision on what to study at university. In fact, the choice between EP and NAS seems to be based more on personal experiences or biases than on an academic interest in the cultural history of a people or a nation. As one student noted in her essay about students of NAS:

- It is mostly for personal reasons that they [i.e. students of NAS] feel a keen interest in North American affairs, i.e. US-American affairs; therefore, these students view "the greatest nation in the world" with the same warm affection and unrestricted honesty that best friends employ for one another.

Another student made a similar observation:

- When I started studying at the Free University's John-F.-Kennedy-Institute, I had the impression, that most kids' decision to take North American Studies was far more influenced by MTV than by Martin Luther King or Ernest Hemingway. Ralph Lauren polo shirts, baggy pants and sneakers were the ticket for being accepted and a 'one-year-high-school-in-the-States-accent' was far more important than the content or quality of your comments. You had to act American in order to earn respect. A Green Card that you received because some aunt lived in the United States was more important than the credits for the tough history exam.

### **6.5.2 More general implications**

In addition to providing pedagogical implications for the teaching of English at the FU, this study brings out some interesting attitudes about the use of English in Europe and points out some of the associations that students have with the language. The above data give insight into the contradictory love-hate relationship that many Germans/Europeans have with the US (see also Hilgendorf 2001). This study shows that there is an overall preference for the US and American English among students of English at the FU, which has several possible explanations. First of all, Preisler (1999a) has found that in Denmark this generation of Europeans has positive attitudes towards American English, which most likely come about because of the dominant influence the US has on domains that influence students' lives, like film, music and literature. Secondly, there was a strong US military presence in Berlin until the early 1990s and many students who grew up in the city had contact with the American forces. In general, there is (or at least was) a positive

attitude towards the Americans in Berlin because of US support during the Blockade of Berlin and US generosity in rebuilding the city; this positive reaction can be clearly perceived when considering the public response to John F. Kennedy's 'Ich bin ein Berliner' speech. Moreover, the FU was financed with American funds and the university is renowned for having a strong NAS programme, which attracts students interested in American literature, culture and politics. Finally, this positive attitude towards the US and American English seems to be related to something that Diane mentioned: the US is "a big legend when you grow up in Germany." Another student also broached this topic in one of his essays:

- In Berlin during the 1980s, the coolest people were the kids who had the chance to buy items from the American army PX store in Zehlendorf. This store was only open to American soldiers, diplomats and their families. Germans could only buy things if they had American relatives or friends who would go and bought for them. If you had American comics and the latest Andre Agassi T-shirt or even Michael Jordan basketball sneakers, you were the king of the hill at every schoolyard.

Ladegaard (1998:265) explains that the respondents in his survey who are fascinated with US culture focus on aspects of America that are not considered part of their own culture. US culture is fascinating and exciting because it is seen as so different from European cultures. This attitude is reflected in the interview with Steffen, who implies that he likes the US because "it's different and something new, not something I've seen my entire life."

While there is an overwhelming preference for American English and the US, there were also several negative attitudes expressed towards the US, and especially towards Germans who blindly embrace American cultural and political values. Three of the interviewees—Alina, Diane and Oskar—express distaste for the German readiness to adopt all things American, although Diane is also very attached to the country and the culture. But given this atmosphere of critique and distrust, even those students who seem most disillusioned with the US find something that they like about it:

- This is probably very subjective but I really dislike the American patriotism, especially in American movies. Nevertheless, I love American literature.

Perhaps this seemingly contradictory behaviour of both disapproving of but also adopting certain American products or values is just another aspect of globalization and localization. Some aspects of American culture are adopted by this community because they are consistent with the values of

Berlin. Moreover, as many of these students are interested in using English to communicate with the international community, their attitudes towards the language can entail dislike for certain native English-speaking cultures, but not all of them.

### **6.5.3 Implications for applied linguistics**

This study seems to confirm the findings of studies by Modiano (2000; 2001), Jenkins (2000; 2002) and Seidlhofer (2001a; 2002b) that a lingua franca variety is arising in Europe and ownership of English is shifting or widening, as several students assert that they speak a variety of European English and do not follow outside norms. My work also adds depth to these studies by providing attitudinal responses to their assertions. The language uses and attitudes of students in the lingua franca cluster reinforce Modiano's suggestion that in addition to teaching native speaker norms, language teachers need to address

the needs and desires of those students (and their numbers are growing) who prefer to learn English as a tool for inter-cultural communication, and as a result seek competence through an international perspective on the language. Such students not only attempt to develop the ability to comprehend a wide range of varieties, but also strive to utilize language which has a high likelihood of being comprehensible among a broad cross-section of the peoples who comprise the English-using world (2001:162).

However, it is somewhat discouraging to find that students in the lingua franca cluster are less confident about their English skills and perhaps even less proficient. The lingua franca cluster is the group that judges their proficiency in English the lowest. Of those that reply that they are only able to write an academic text in English to a very limited extent, 71% are in the lingua franca cluster; and 62% of students who can only understand English movies without subtitles to a small extent are in the lingua franca cluster. Likewise, 54% of those who reply that they can only read and understand a book written in English to a small extent are in the lingua franca cluster. They are also the group that is least likely to have lived abroad in an English-speaking country for over a month.

Moreover, while these students recognize no connection to either the US or the UK, they are also the students who have the least contact with English, especially in their personal lives: 65% of the students who speak English in their personal lives only once a month or less are in the lingua franca cluster. It follows that these students do not find it easier to express themselves in English. In fact, as mentioned above, 39% of the students who disagree that it is easier to express their

emotions in English belong to the lingua franca cluster. Additionally, it is significant that of the 4% of students who strongly agreed with the statement “I don’t really like the English language and sometimes I resent the fact that I’m forced to use it,” all belonged in the lingua franca cluster.

The following questions remain open:

1. Will students in the lingua franca cluster change their affiliations with English if they spend more time abroad? In other words, is cluster 3 a stage on the way to membership in the clusters 1 and 2?
2. Do they perceive their proficiencies as lower because they are less motivated?
  - 2.1. If so, are they less motivated because they are forced to study philology-based English programmes instead of being offered courses that may be more appropriate for their needs?
3. Are these students’ competencies really lower than those of other students who identify more strongly with the US or UK?
  - 3.1. If not, are their perceptions skewed because they are disadvantaged in an educational system that privileges native varieties of British and American English?

Of course further studies are needed to assess the above questions. However, the data provided by the two interviewees from the lingua franca cluster lead me to believe that members of this cluster will not drastically change their opinions about English as they move on in their studies. Both Oskar and Beatrice show a mature awareness about language use and a clarity of conviction about their needs for English. Of course it may be that Beatrice and Oskar are different from the average student in this cluster because they volunteered to discuss their feelings about English with me. Unfortunately, those students who are less motivated in their studies and less enthusiastic about the opportunity to speak English are not represented in the interviews.

Nevertheless, I can conclude with confidence from the data that I have obtained that there needs to be some adjustment in the teaching of English in order to encourage its users to be confident in their appropriations of the language. Here it is enlightening to look again at what Beatrice said about her variety of English:

- B: I learned [my English] at school, at elementary school, so it’s still the typical Ghanaian English. Maybe that’s why I didn’t pass the [FU entrance] test, I don’t know.

Perhaps the students in the lingua franca cluster are just less enthusiastic about English and it is therefore not important to them to stress their competence in the language. Here it is interesting to consider what Oskar noted about students who replied that they can express themselves better in English than in German. Oskar, who is extremely fluent in English and who performed above average in the course in which I taught him, still claims that it is much easier to express himself in German. He then implies that those who think that English is easier are just responding to a general excitement for everything English or, in particular, American:

O: I don't know why I should be able to express my feelings or emotions better in English when I was raised in German. Maybe if I was living in an English-speaking country for 6 or 10 years, I would think differently about it. But if I was trying to talk really personal, then it's easier for me in German. I wouldn't have to sit there and think about the words I wanted to use...Maybe it's also a hurrah way of saying, hey I speak English, let's do everything in English. Maybe it's just American fever, whatever you want to call it.

Oskar is a perfect example of a student of North American Studies who does not have what he calls 'American fever'. However, he is a competent user of English and extremely capable of expressing himself, even making a critique of the US competently in English. He also sees his abilities in English as a sign of his 'Europeanness.' While there is a need for further research here, such attitudes of students of English at the FU support the theoretical positions of by Modiano (2000; 2001), Jenkins (2000; 2002) and Seidlhofer (2001a; 2002b), who recommend that there should be increasing consideration given to a developing variety of European or global English.

## 6.6 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that students of English at the FU possess an impressive amount of linguistic insight. They have been exposed to a wide variety of English accents, which have all influenced their own accents. While the majority of students still orient themselves by means of a native-speaking regional variety of English, others are consciously embracing a European or German variety. There is still a clear preference for the most common educational varieties of English (British and American)—and admittedly, this study is slightly limited in focus because it concentrates mostly on these varieties—, but there is a notable interest in other varieties of English.

The students in this study express mixed opinions about expressing identity through English: while some enjoy taking on the mask that a foreign language offers them and hiding in another



linguistic identity, others prefer to express their national (or other) identities through English. These mixed reactions demonstrate that English is appropriated differently by students according to the needs they have for it. Moreover, several students have the ability to switch between various varieties of English, depending on the situation they find themselves in. This demonstrates an awareness on their part that international communication in English is about negotiation of meaning, irrespective of the variety they speak.

The results of the cluster analysis further demonstrate students' attitudes about, and means of identifying with, English. They show that some users align themselves not only with British or American varieties of English but feel connected to the countries in which their preferred variety of English is spoken. However, the students in the *lingua franca* cluster seem interested in learning 'good' or 'standard' English, but do not necessarily relate these adjectives to a particular national variety.

While the majority of students in this study still have a native variety of English as their language learning model, their experiences with the language prove to be much more diverse. The results of this study suggest that, as English is being increasingly used as a global language and also being accepted as the common language of the EU, accordingly there need to be shifts in the pedagogy of English which would allow for divergence from L1 models of English. These shifts include:

- An opening up to the teaching of (at least awareness of) other varieties of English outside the US and UK. This would help to increase the 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu 1991) of these varieties and would also increase the acceptability of an emerging European variety (see Jenkins and Seidlhofer 2001).
- The increasing study of other contexts (outside the US and the UK) where English is used, both as an L1 and L2 (see McKay 2002; Sifakis and Sougari 2003).
- Measures to increase students' perceptive abilities concerning L2 varieties of English (see Jenkins 2000).
- A move away from teaching based on nationalist approaches to language learning (see Decke-Cornill 2002).
- Increased teaching of English as a global language and focus on practical uses of the language (see Gnutzmann 1999a; House 2002).
- An emphasis on language standards, expertise in language, and not on following national linguistic norms (see Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001; Rampton 1990).



## THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS: DOMAINS, CIRCLES AND INNOVATION IN ENGLISH

### 7.1 Domains, circles and innovation in English

Having looked at the many uses that students have for English in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the following chapter will examine typical classification systems used in sociolinguistics to define the role of English in a society. After examining the many domains in which students need English, it becomes clear that these systems need to be modified in order to account for students' uses of the language. In addition, English no longer functions only as a foreign language for this group of language users. While students' most common uses for English are as a global lingua franca, this study clearly demonstrates that students also use the language as an additional means of expressing identity and creativity. In conventional typologies of English users, this role is reserved for first and second language speakers. Acknowledging students' uses of English as an expression of identity lends further strength to the idea that English is functioning more like a second than a foreign language in Europe.

Furthermore, if English is a second language in Europe, European norms of use should be recognized and codified. Consequently, this chapter concludes by sketching out some features of students' Englishes. These features—which are compared to the findings of other studies on evolving varieties of world Englishes—lend support to the idea that a localized variety of English is taking form. This variety may be called European English, while German English can be seen as a subvariety within this categorization. The variations found in these students' Englishes further confirm the idea that these users are appropriating the language for their own purposes, asserting their identities through English and empowering themselves as owners of the language.

### 7.2 Domains of English in students' lives

Sociolinguists typically classify the use of language in a society according to the domains in which that language is used. The more domains of use it has, the more important the language is and the more ingrained it is in the societal fabric of that society. According to Fishman (1972a:441):

Domains are defined, regardless of their number, in terms of institutional contexts and their congruent behavioural co-occurrences. They attempt to summate the major clusters of interaction that occur in clusters of multilingual settings and involving clusters of interlocutors...By recognizing the existence of domains it becomes possible to contrast the language of topics for individual or particular subpopulations with the predominant language of domains for larger networks, if not the whole, of a speech community.

Following Fishman, a variety of typologies have been used to characterize the use of English in various global contexts. Kachru (1982b), for example, who fashioned his functions of language after Halliday (1973), designates four domains for English use in national settings. First he identifies instrumental domains: the uses of English as a medium of learning at various stages in the educational system of a country. Regulative domains describe the use of English in conducting bureaucratic functions, for example, in the legal system. Interpersonal domains consist of the use of English as a link language between speakers of various languages. Finally, imaginative or innovative domains of English describe the use of English in literary genres and are realized through creative uses and formations of English words and phrases, or as using English in "un-English" contexts (Kachru 1982b:42).

Although these categories help to assess the role of English as an international language, Kachru's classifications of language domains stop short of adequately describing the uses of English of students of English at the FU. As has been shown, the use of English at this German university can be considered regulative (as the language of the university), interpersonal (as a language used to communicate between speakers of other languages) and innovative (as a language used for academic writing). Therefore, the above domains overlap and confuse areas of language use that are crucial in defining English as a global lingua franca. Moreover, due to globalization, new domains of language use have developed.

As a more appropriate means of categorizing the uses of English by language centre students, I have created a typology of domains of language use which more sufficiently illustrate students' uses of English. These domains have been influenced by the typologies set out by Halliday (1973), Kachru (1982b) and Berns (1988). However, I have divided these domains of English into two main strands: Domains of English as used as a lingua franca and domains where English is used as a language of expression. I have made this distinction in order to emphasise that in this

context, English functions both as a tool that links speakers of various languages in different domains of use and as a language of creativity and identity expression.

### **7.2.1 Domains of ELF**

All of the following domains describe the use of English as a lingua franca. They are domains in which English is used as a language of communication between speakers who may or may not have English as an L1.

#### **7.2.1.1 Educational domains**

Educational domains of English describe how the language is officially promoted through schools. They refer to the teaching of English in the primary and secondary educational system or the use of it in classrooms. This category also includes the use of English as a medium of instruction in universities and its use in academic lectures, publications, conferences and readings. In Chapter 5 it was demonstrated that the roles of English at universities are expanding as European reforms are introduced and study programmes become more international.

#### **7.2.1.2 Personal domains**

Personal domains include situations where a language is used informally—in the family, private social activities, travelling, shopping and entertainment. This may include, for example, the use of English between two friends—one German and one Swedish. It may also include the use of English in email or internet communication, although this type of language use is also required in professional and academic situations. Many students remark on their uses of English in their personal life both locally and abroad, for communication with people from English-speaking countries and with other L2 English speakers.

#### **7.2.1.3 Professional domains**

Professional domains of English describe the use of a language at work, between employees, or for other professional contacts. This category includes the use of English in advertising, at meetings, in emails and letters and between clients, for example a business phone call between a German and Spanish executive. This study shows that students expect to use English for their future careers and that many students have work experience that reaffirms this belief.



#### **7.2.1.4 Bureaucratic domains**

Bureaucratic domains define the use of English in official matters, for public administration or written communication between and within government agencies for internal matters. German is the language used for national bureaucratic matters within the country. However, within the EU, communication often takes place in English. When communicating at a European or international level, English is a useful—if not essential—language.

### **7.2.2 Domains of expression**

The following domains depict the use of English as a language of creativity or as a language to express identity. These are domains in which English use is being increasingly accommodated to suit localized needs and to express involvement in the international community.

#### **7.2.2.1 Media and entertainment domains**

Media and entertainment domains describe the use of language for news distribution, radio and television broadcasting, as well as the use of a language for the enjoyment of television, film, culture or literature. The popularity of English books, media, films and television programmes in Germany, for example, demonstrates that these products are not only consumed by L1 speakers of English, but anyone who wants or needs to keep up with things in English. In Chapter 4 it became clear that a great number of students take advantage of the wide range of English material available in Berlin.

#### **7.2.2.2 Advertising domains**

Advertising domains describe the use of English in shop signs, menus, billboards and other forms of advertisement. English is often seen as a prestigious, effective advertising language, as it conveys modernity, worldliness and trendiness. The previous chapters have shown that students of English at the FU are regularly exposed to English through advertising and that this also seems to suggest growing societal bi- or multilingualism.

#### **7.2.2.3 Creative domains**

Creative domains of a language are realized through imaginative uses and the formations of new expressions. This domain also encompasses the use of a language in songs, poetry and fiction. Chapter 4 recorded the abundance of loan words and phrases that occur in German and demonstrated that English thrives as a language of expression in Berlin, both for migrants and for German authors, who are introducing English into their fiction.

#### **7.2.2.4 Identity domains**

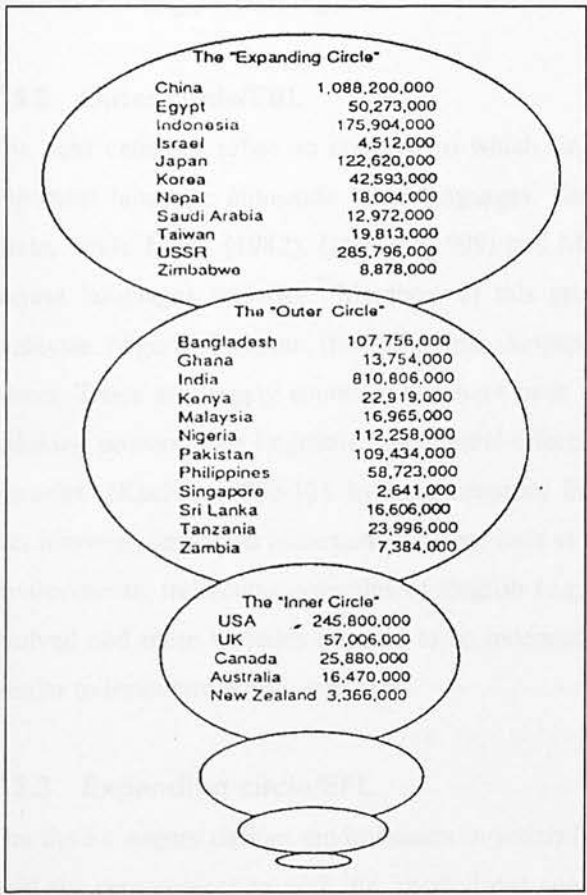
Identity domains have to do with a language serving as a means to express identity. Chapter 5 shows how, as a by-product of Europeanization and globalization, English is often characterized as encroaching on the German language and disrupting the sense of national identity. However, it is established that English, instead of limiting people's means of expression, offers additional channels of expressing identity—whether they want to express that they are 'alternative Germans', Europeans or so-called citizens of the world. Many students feel that English provides them with a means to broaden their identities and sometimes even feel as though the language offers them a better means of expression than their L1.

### **7.3 Categorizations of English users: The three concentric circle and other tri-part typologies**

In the above typology, both the range and depth of domains of English use for students of English at the FU is extensive. However, Germany has traditionally been classified as a place where English is used in a restricted way as a foreign language for the purpose of international communication. Therefore, the distinctions that are traditionally drawn between various English-speaking societies need to be re-examined in order to find a categorization which can more accurately describe the way English is used in the context of the FU.

Countries where English is used are often classified into three categories. Kachru (1985b), for example, developed what has become a popular system of organizing English-using societies, which he presents in three concentric circles (also see Chapter 3). Other scholars such as Moag (1982), Coulmas (1985), Görlach (1999) and Mesthrie (2002) have also created taxonomies for categorizing English-speaking societies. Despite variations, each of the models rely on similar categorizations that are based on differences in types of spread, patterns of acquisition, domains in which English is used and English-learning models.

Figure 7.1: Kachru's concentric circles of English



(From Kachru 1992c:356)

### 7.3.1 Inner circle/ENL

In each of the above-mentioned categorizations, there is a group of countries that makes up a core of native English speakers. Kachru (1985b) calls this group the inner circle, those speakers who use English as a first language and therefore are seen to demonstrate the highest proficiency in its use. Moag (1982), Coulmas (1985) and Görlach (1999) refer to this category of English-users as ENL (English as a native language) countries. These countries—which Mesthrie (2002:112) designates as the UK, the US, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa<sup>1</sup>—are countries in which English is both the official language and the mother tongue of the majority of the

<sup>1</sup> Mesthrie (2002:113) does not categorize Ireland as an L1 English country, as he argues that even though English has replaced the erstwhile primary language of the community, it retains a distinctiveness and sense of continuity with the ancestral language and culture.

population and the varieties of English spoken there have traditionally produced the norms for international English learning.

### **7.3.2 Outer circle/ESL**

The next category refers to contexts in which English functions as an official or at least an important language alongside other languages. Kachru (1985b) calls these contexts the outer circle, while Moag (1982), Görlach (1999) and Mesthrie (2002) call them ESL (English as a second language) societies.<sup>2</sup> Members of this group typically include Ghana, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Tanzania and Zambia, among others. These are largely countries that have been directly, or indirectly, colonized by English-speaking powers; “the linguistic and cultural effects of such colonization are now a part of their histories” (Kachru 1985b:12). In these countries English has an extended range of uses, which are, however, restricted to certain domains, such as media, administration and education. In such environments, indigenous varieties of English (e.g. Indian English, Singaporean English) have evolved and these varieties are said to be independent, as they do not derive value from being similar to inner circle/ENL varieties.

### **7.3.3 Expanding circle/EFL**

The third category defines environments in which English is learned as a foreign language to be used for communication with the international community and is taught as a foreign language. Kachru calls this the expanding circle, which Moag (1982), Coulmas (1985), Görlach (1999) and Mesthrie (2002) refer to these environments as EFL (English as a foreign language) societies. In these environments (e.g. in China or Indonesia), English is not institutionalized; the language is used only for utilitarian purposes, as a linguistic tool or link language. In other words, English has a highly restricted functional range in specific contexts like tourism, commerce or international transactions. Learners of English rely on inner circle/ENL varieties of English and descriptions such as Japanese English or Egyptian English are just indicators of geographical or national characteristics, not of an independent, recognized variety. In all the above-mentioned categorizations, Germany is considered to be an expanding circle/EFL country, although Mesthrie (2002:113) contends that the German use of English is “something between ESL and EFL.”

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<sup>2</sup> Coulmas (1985:171-172) distinguishes between countries like Canada, Ireland and South Africa where English is official alongside other languages, even though these other languages are not necessarily the language of the majority of the people. The second are countries like Liberia, Ghana or Nigeria in which English is not an indigenous language but is nevertheless official because of current situations for which another alternative has not yet been found.

### 7.3.4 Going beyond the three-part model: Will the circles be unbroken?<sup>3</sup>

While the above categorizations for English-using societies help one to understand the historical spread of the language, they are no longer sufficient to describe global uses of English. As Nero (2002:55) notes, our neat models of global English need radical revision to cope with “the reality of language spread, languages in contact, hybridity, fluid and/or multiple linguistic identities, multiple standards and various kinds of and claims to nativeness.” This assertion becomes especially clear when considering the context of the FU where students of English use the language not only as a global lingua franca but also as a means of identity expression.

When examining the use of English in the world, radical differences between outer circle and expanding circle societies can no longer be assumed and distinctions between first, second and foreign language are being blurred. Cheshire (1991:3) argues that “the criteria used to identify ESL, EFL and other varieties of English that were once thought to be relatively discrete...cannot do justice to the multiplicity of situations in which English is used.” McArthur (2003:57) catalogues this change in the perception of English speakers:

Once they were fairly clear: the first were born to English, the second had it thrust upon them in colonial times and the third was everybody else who knew any English. Now, however, they have very fuzzy edges. Many native users have low opinions of the English of other native users, at home or abroad; many second-language users are manifestly more fluent in some aspects of the language than many natives, especially in professional activities; and many foreign users know and use the language better than many native- and second-language users, the outcome of a learning process that began in childhood. The distinction ‘second’ and ‘foreign’ seems therefore much less valuable than it may once have been.

One problem with the models put forward by Kachru, Moag, Coulmas, Görlach and Mesthrie is that they reproduce the centre-periphery dichotomy that many postcolonial scholars (e.g. Appadurai 1996; Canagarajah 1999; Pennycook 1994) have sought to move beyond. These centrist models of concentric circles place native English speakers at the core and the use of terms like ‘inner circle’ imply that only L1 speakers of English speak the language correctly, have unique insight into the language and are, therefore, the only ones who should be authorized to control it. Moreover, because of Kachru’s use of the term ‘concentric circles’, his model has been

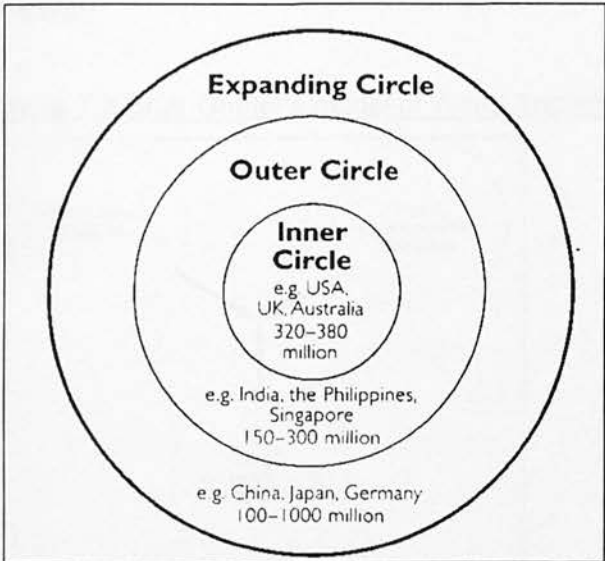
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<sup>3</sup> Taken from the song “Will the Circle be Unbroken” by the Nitty Gritty Dirt Band.



represented by, for example, Crystal (1995:107), with inner circle speakers of English in the centre of the model, which implies that this is where all other speakers of English should look for their language learning goal.

Figure 7.2 Crystal's representation of Kachru's concentric circles



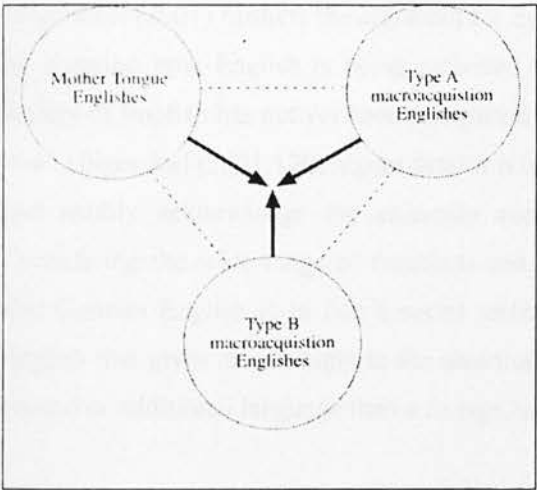
(From Crystal 1995:107)

Coulmas (1985:169) even creates a linguistic categorization on the grounds of skin colour; he equates native English-speaking countries with a majority white population and the next three categories get increasingly darker as he moves away from the centre. This theoretical framework suggests that racial differences denote differences in linguistic competence, a dangerous assumption. Moreover, Görlach's (1999:13) use of wholly unlinguistic terms like 'brokenness,' 'unusual' and 'deviance' to describe uses of English in ESL contexts is problematic, as postcolonial scholars now stress that such uses of English are a legitimate means of expressing identity.

In a world where global uses of English are pushing all types of borders, non-centre based models are needed which do not draw clear lines by national distinctions nor divide English users into severe categories. In an effort to move away from such centrist models, Brutt-Griffler (1998:388) offers an alternative that recognizes that other Englishes are not varieties of native English and that it is inappropriate to place them outside, in an inferior position to native Englishes. In her model, Type A Macroacquisition Englishes correspond to contexts in which new varieties of

English have emerged and Type B Macroacquisition Englishes represent communities that use English as a foreign language. In an attempt to show the dynamic nature of language, Brutt-Griffler envisions as a centre of gravity around which varieties of English revolve, implying that there is no core or periphery. All English users converge towards the middle when communicating internationally and diverge outwards when following localized norms of the language.

Figure 7.3 Brutt-Griffler's model of World English



(From Brutt-Griffler 2002:178)

### 7.3.5 English as an additional language in Europe

The problems in the centrist models discussed above become even more evident when considering the context of Europe, and in this case the German university classroom. Although Görlach and Schröder (1985:227, their emphasis) argue that “one can have no doubt that *all* countries in Europe (outside Britain and Ireland) fall in [the EFL] category,” much has changed since this was written in 1985. Europeanization and globalization have affected the uses of English within Europe. The increasing use of English in Europe has compelled Graddol (1999:64) to assert that “Europe is rapidly integrating and reinventing itself as a multilingual area in which English plays an increasingly important role as a second language.” Cenoz and Jessner (2000:viii) also conclude that English is now “the main channel of communication among European citizens” and that “English is really becoming the EU’s second language.” Additionally, Wright (2000:214) finds that “by virtue of its being the most frequently taught foreign language in the education systems of the EU, English is on its way to becoming the unofficial second language of the European Union.”

As far as Germany is concerned, as early as 1981 Denison found that the situation was comparable to that in postcolonial territories where national or indigenous languages do not function in certain domains because of the strength and usefulness of English. In a later article, Berns (1995), like Denison, suggests that English functions in Germany more like it does in countries like India where English is used as a second language than in countries like Japan where English is used as a foreign language.

Hilgendorf (2001) furthers the argument for English having a second language status in Germany by showing how English is being nativized in this context. Although a German or European variety of English has not yet been recognized nor has it developed its own literary domain up till now, Hilgendorf (2001:170) argues that "it is only a question of time before individuals recognize and readily acknowledge the existence and legitimacy of a German variety of English." Considering the wide range of functions and numerous domains of English use, she proclaims that German English is in fact a social reality. It is the emergence of this German variety of English that gives most weight to the assertion that English in this context functions more like a second or additional language than a foreign language.

#### **7.4 Innovation in English: The emergence of a German (or European) variety**

As has been demonstrated above, English no longer functions (only) as a foreign language in Europe since more and more users of English appropriate it to suit their purposes. Because of the extensive use of English in Europe and because many local norms of use have stabilized, some have claimed that an indigenous variety of English is arising. For example, Chapter 3 reviewed current academic work by Modiano (2000; 2001), Jenkins (2000; 2002) and Seidlhofer (2001a; 2002b) which supports the acceptance of a European variety of English that follows its own norms and not those of British or American L1 speakers. If a European variety of English is taking form as these scholars suggest, this development raises questions about the standards that European users of English follow. The growing acceptance of indigenous varieties and the increasing role of English in Europe makes it a challenge to decide between an 'error' and a feature of what may be a feature of European English, or a more localized variety of German English.

In descriptions of world Englishes, variations in indigenized forms of English are often explained by interference from the L1 (Bamgbose 1982). Indeed several of the following examples show

that students' Englishes are influenced by their L1, which in most cases is German. However, many of these features also appear in other varieties of English, which, as was established in Chapter 6, students at the FU regularly come into contact with. So when students encounter other Englishes, stable, non-standard features of these varieties reinforce their 'errors'.

A third reason that these features are likely to arise in a variety of European English is that they are notoriously difficult for the L2 learner of English to acquire. One reason that certain features may be difficult to acquire for language learners is that they vary between the numerous varieties of English. For example, preposition use can be different in British and American English. Concerning grammar, Crystal (1995:362) recognizes that there are tricky areas of English pronunciation and grammar that pose a problem regardless of the learner's language background. Jenkins (2002) calls such aspects of English 'unteachable' because they have unclear rules and are thus difficult to acquire. Concerning pronunciation rules she notes that

However much classroom time is spent on them, learners do not acquire them. It may be that the rules are not sufficiently generalizable (as in the case of pitch movements) or are too complex (as with word stress), or that the item is heavily marked, infrequent in the world's languages and unnatural (as with /θ/ and /ð/) (Jenkins 2002:97-98).

Moreover, the empirical work done by Jenkins has suggested that many of these features are also not necessary for comprehensibility in most EFL contexts. Thus EFL should be able "to embrace non-native local norms and/or disregard native norms with no threat to intelligibility for the (non-native) receiver" (Jenkins 1998:123).

## **7.5 An impressionistic sketch of German English**

The following provides a sketch of forms that a variety of German English (as a subvariety of European English) may take. It includes a list of features of English that often appear in the German university classroom—in pronunciation, lexis, grammar and discourse. Examples of students' uses of English are indicated with a bullet point. Of course this is an impressionistic account based on a specific community of speakers, which needs to be backed up by more detailed corpus work and comparison with other findings. For this reason, each of these examples will be followed by comparative examples found in other sources, for example studies on European English by Alexander (1999), corpus findings on Pan Swiss English (PSE) by Durham (2003b) and corpus findings on ELF by Seidlhofer (2001a). These comparisons lend strength to the idea that these features are becoming stabilized features of European English. For some

features I have also found examples that have appeared in published works, which reinforces the argument that such a variety is being regularized. In many cases, my findings are compared to studies on world Englishes. Here the variation may not only be a feature of European English, but perhaps even a global variety. As Crystal (1995:362) notes:

It is the case that there are further points of similarity in the way English is used in Fiji, Singapore, and Papua New Guinea. And perhaps in all places where English is taught as a second language we shall find such similarities. Indeed, it would be surprising if it were not so. There are presumably certain idiosyncrasies in English, as in any language, which are likely to pose particular difficulty to learners, wherever it is taught. And it is perfectly possible that some of these difficulties could become institutionalized into local norms in more or less the same way. If so, then what we may eventually need to recognize is a super-supranational concept of World Second Language English, with regional variation arising chiefly from its contact with different native languages and cultures, and primarily reflected in a series of different lexicons.

### **7.5.1 Phonological features**

Phonological variation in European English results from influence from the speaker's L1 together with contact with several varieties of English. Jenkins (1998; 2000) notes that many of these features are common in several varieties of ELF. She also proves that many of these features do not create any problems in comprehension when used by the ELF speaker.

#### **7.5.1.1 A mixture of pronunciation**

The most obvious feature of European English is a pronunciation mixture that results from the numerous varieties of English that learners have contact with. Modiano (1998) calls this mixed variety 'Mid-Atlantic' while Melchers and Shaw (2003:187) describe it as "a mixture of British-type and US-type pronunciations, but its main phonological characteristics derive from the speaker's mother tongue." This description of English pronunciation well suits many of the varieties one can hear language centre students speak at the FU, as was suggested in Chapter 6 where many students describe their English as an American-British-German mix.

#### **7.5.1.2 Consonants**

Perhaps the most characteristic features of German pronunciation in English are the confusion of the consonants /v/ and /w/ and the inability to reproduce the sounds /θ/ and /ð/, which are often realized as /s/ or /z/, or even /d/ or /t/. For example:



### **‘Standard’ pronunciation**

*village* [vɪlɪdʒ] →

*evidence* [evidəns] →

*the car is in the garage* [ðə ka:r ɪz ɪn ðə  
gærɪdʒ] →

*this* and *that* [ðɪs] and [ðæt] →

*youth* [ju:θ] →

*something* [sʌmθɪŋ] →

*then* [ðen] →

### **Realized as...**

[wɪlɪtʃ]

[ewɪdəns]

[də ka:r ɪz ɪn zə gærɪtʃ]

or

[də ka:r ɪz ɪn də gærɪtʃ]

[zɪs] and [zæt] (mentioned by Alina in  
her interview)

or

[dɪs] and [dæt]

[ju:s] (also found in varieties of  
Singapore English, Mei 2001).

[sʌmsɪŋ]

[den] (which can also be the case in

Malaysian English, Preshous 2001)

According to Jenkins (1998), most consonant sounds are essential features of English pronunciation. This means that the distinction between /v/ and /w/ is an essential feature of English pronunciation and must be mastered by German learners who want to achieve international comprehensibility. However in Jenkins' model, /θ/ and /ð/ are not core sounds, which means that the inability to pronounce them does not lead to miscommunication. Moreover, these sounds are acknowledged as being exceptionally difficult to learn (Jenkins 1998:122) because they do not occur in the majority of the world's languages, or even in some native English varieties (e.g. Irish English, see Crystal 1995:337). She therefore proposes that they be considered acceptable L2 regional norms.

#### **7.5.1.3 Devoicing**

Jenkins (2002:96) argues that a requirement of English pronunciation includes the shortening of vowel sounds before voiceless consonants and maintenance of a length distinction before voiced consonants. The inability to differentiate between long and short vowels results in a devoicing of

the following consonant, which can result in incomprehensibility. Without having the appropriate vowel quality, a word like *food* is realized as [fʊt]. As this is often a feature of German pronunciation in English, vowel length must be stressed in the language classroom.

However, there is one area of German pronunciation where devoicing occurs so regularly that this feature is becoming more regularized. In the pronunciation of the word *live* [laɪv]—which has also become a German word (see Chapter 4)—the /v/ is often devoiced, so that *live* is realized as [laɪf]. This feature of pronunciation has resulted in the word being spelled like *life* (i.e. places that advertize ‘Life Music’ or ‘Life Sex Shows’). In fact, there is a German radio station called MDR life ([www.mdr.de/radio](http://www.mdr.de/radio)) and from the context one can conclude that they actually meant to call their station MDR live.

#### 7.5.1.4 Word stress

Another feature that can be found in German pronunciation is misplaced stress in certain words or phrases. For example, students hear the word *Berlin* pronounced in a phrase like *Berlin Wall* [ˈbɜːlɪn wɔːl] and assume that the stress in the word is always on the first syllable. They then produce phrases like *the city of Berlin* [ˈbɜːlɪn], placing the stress on the wrong part of the word (most L1 speakers of English would pronounce this phrase as *the city of Berlin* [bɜːˈlɪn]). However, this feature of German pronunciation does not seem to create a barrier to comprehensibility. As Jenkins (1998:123) argues, “The rules [for word stress] are highly complex, containing manifold exceptions and differences among L1 varieties and according to syntactic context...Reliable rules therefore cannot be easily formulated, let alone learnt.” This feature of German English may therefore be becoming an acceptable L2 norm.

#### 7.5.1.5 Features of connected speech

Clear word boundaries, some marked with glottal stops, are a feature of the pronunciation of German. As a result, German English pronunciation can sometimes be perceived as ‘choppy’ by the L1 English speaker. For example, in L1 English the phrase *a friend of ours* is often realized as [ə frɛnd\_əv\_auəz]. However, in German English, it may be realized as [ə frɛnt ɒf auəz]. While an L1 speaker of English may link the final consonant of a word to the initial vowel of the following word, a German speaker of English may retain the distinction between each individual word. This is a feature of L2 pronunciation that may regularize as Jenkins (1998:123) shows that

elision, assimilation, linking and weak forms are areas open to variation and unlikely to result in misunderstanding.

### 7.5.2 Lexical features

Lexical innovations in German English include borrowings and extensions from the L1 as well as transfers and extensions of meaning.

#### 7.5.2.1 Borrowings and loanwords

As discussed in Chapter 4, there are several English loanwords used in German as well as quasi-English words and phrases that have been coined from English lexical material. Often students mistake these pseudo-loans for standard English words. For example, *Handy* is a German word that often appears in German English instead of the English equivalent *mobile* or *cell phone*.

There are many German words that appear in standard English. These are words like *angst*, *blitz*, *doppelganger/doppelgänger*, *ersatz*, *fahrvergnügen*, *gemütlich*, *kulturkampf*, *lebensraum*, *meister*, *schadenfreude*, *strafe*, *weltanschauung* and *wunderkind* (Loan words 2000). This list could also include the use of the prefix *über/uber* in terms like *übercool* or “*über-hip bar*” (found in Kirk 2003:70). That these words have been adopted into English can be seen by their loss of capitalization (all German nouns are capitalized) and the occasional loss of the umlaut in the case of *doppelganger* or *uber*.

Concerning the interviews with FU students, all the interviewees occasionally used German words in their conversations. Most often, these words represent things from German culture that are not easily translatable. These are the types of words that are most likely to be loaned to a local variety of English. Such words include *Abitur*, *Deutsche Meisterschaft*, *Leistungssport*, *Leistungskurs*, *Probehalbjahr* and *Volkshochschule*.

#### 7.5.2.2 Extensions and transfers

There are other lexical innovations that may transfer into a variety of German English. These may be classified as extensions of German words or transfers from German into English. For example, one can often find a loss of the distinctions between word pairs that have similar yet distinct meanings in L1 varieties of English. These include word pairs like *make/do*, *listen/hear*, *speak/talk*, *study/learn* and *borrow/lend*. For example:

- “You can *make* a three semester course” (from interview with Diane).

- “The mistakes I *do*, ...they are German mistakes” (from interview with Beatrice).
- A quarter of a million people from all over the country assembled in front of the Lincoln Memorial *hearing* King’s famous speech.
- “If I am *hearing* German news...” (from interview with Beatrice).
- I like to hear English music (example of Malaysian English in Preshous 2001)
- “I never *talk* English to her” (from interview with Steffen).
- Whenever I *talk* English... (example of Austrian English cited in Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2003:120, my italics)
- Last night he stayed in *learning* for an exam.
- I asked if he could *borrow* me that book.
- Can you *borrow* me some money? (example of Malaysian English in Preshous 2001).

### 7.5.3 Grammatical features

There are several features of German English grammar that occur frequently and are also found in other varieties of English, so it is reasonable to suggest that they could be regularized in a form of European English. These features include alterations in noun, verb, adverb and preposition use, as well as other miscellaneous features of grammar.

#### 7.5.3.1 Nouns

Most variation in noun use has to do with pluralization. For example, some noncount nouns are treated as count nouns. Other nouns that end in *-s* but are singular are treated as plural. One typical feature of German English is that the noun *person* is pluralized as *persons* instead of *people*. For example:

- “A teacher in a school for learning disabled *persons*” (from interview with Steffen).

##### 7.5.3.1.1 Loss of distinction between count and noncount nouns

In the German use of English, there is an occasional loss of distinction between count and noncount nouns. Noncount nouns such as *advice*, *homework* or *vocabulary* are often treated as if they were count nouns. Variation in pluralization of nouns is also a feature of other varieties of English. Both Kachru (1982a) and Trudgill and Hannah (1985) show that this is often the case in

South Asian English, while Trudgill and Hannah (1985) demonstrate that this is often a feature of West African Englishes. Durham (2003b) notes that the form *informations* occurs in PSE and was produced by members of all three language groups (French, German and Italian). Clearly the distinction between count and noncount nouns held in standard English is being challenged by the numerous global varieties in which this distinction is different.

- She gave me *an advice* that I'll never forget.
- This is *a proof* that the situation is getting worse.
- "I have to complete *a research*" (from interview with Diane).
- "There are a lot more *vocabularies* that I understand" (from interview with Oskar).
- "I didn't understand because of the abundant *vocabularies*" (example of Hong Kong English in Pennycook 1998:208).
- I hope we don't have a lot of *homeworks* this semester.
- "[S]tudents have to use double efforts for their studies since *homeworks* and tests are to be handed in English" (example of Hong Kong English in Pennycook 1998:210).
- I lost all my *furnitures* (example of West African English in Trudgill and Hannah 1985:104).
- We ate just *fruits* for lunch (example of Indian English in Trudgill and Hannah 1985:104).

#### 7.5.3.1.2 Variation in pluralization

Moreover, some singular nouns are used as if they were plural. This could be explained by interference since in German these nouns are plural. But the use of such nouns as plural is compounded by the fact that they deceptively end in *-s* and therefore look plural. For example:

- The news *were* very depressing.
- The United States *are* a big country.

#### 7.5.3.2 Articles

In German English, articles are sometimes used with nouns that do not normally take an article in standard written English. They are also sometimes not used when one might expect them to be. Corpus work by Seidlhofer (2001b:212) and Durham (2003b) has also found a tendency to omit definite and indefinite articles where they are obligatory in L1 varieties. Additionally, McArthur (2002) notes that in Indian English as well as in Filipino English, the definite article is often used as if the traditional conventions have been reversed. The following samples demonstrate this tendency:



#### 7.5.3.2.1 Overuse of article

- With news of the 49er's success making headlines, *the* gold fever had begun.
- "I try to watch *the* films in English" (from interview with Alina).
- My dream is to come back to *the* university and do something with language (from interview with Steffen).
- Tomorrow... is *the* World Health Day (example from PSE corpus).
- It is *the* nature's way (example of Indian English in McArthur 2002:323).
- He is studying at *the* Manuel Quezon University (example of Filipino English in McArthur 2002:346).

#### 7.5.3.2.2 Lack of article

- The nonviolent civil rights movement that overthrew legal segregation in the South originated in Montgomery, Alabama, the cradle of Confederacy.
- More than forty ministers organized a carpool as substitute for bus transportation.
- I am going to cinema (example of West African English in Trudgill and Hannah 1985:104).
- Office is closed today (example of Indian English in McArthur 2002:323).
- I am going to visit United States (example of Filipino English in McArthur 2002:346).

#### 7.5.3.2.3 Variation in article use

There also seems to be a tendency to use the indefinite article *an* with all nouns that begin with an orthographic vowel instead of only those that begin with a vowel sound. For example:

- *an* university
- "*an* utopian proposal" (Ammon 2001:355)

#### 7.5.3.3 Tense and aspect

There are several variations in the use of tense and aspect in German English. Such divergences from standard written English have been attributed to interference from the L1, which has a set of rules that are in conflict with those of English and that the learner of English frequently falls back upon (Jibril 1982:82). However, many of the variations in tense and aspect appear in other varieties of English. As has been shown, the average student of English at the FU is well travelled, so their production of these tense and aspect forms could also result from contact with several varieties of world English.

#### 7.5.3.3.1 Simple tenses instead of present perfect

The first variation in tense is the use of the present instead of the present perfect with phrases indicating a period from past to present. This can also be found in varieties of Indian English (Trudgill and Hannah 1985) as well as Gaelic English (McArthur 2002). In German English, one can also find a confusion of the time expressions *for* and *since*.

- I *learn* English *since* ten years.
- I *am* here *since* two o'clock (example of Indian English in Trudgill and Hannah 1985:109)
- I'm a widow *for* ten years now (example of Gaelic English in McArthur 2002:95).

#### 7.5.3.3.2 Present perfect instead of past

The second variation includes the use of the present perfect instead of the simple past, especially with past time adverbs. Trudgill and Hannah (1985:110) demonstrate that this is also a feature of Indian English, while McArthur (2002) notes that this is also often the case in Filipino English:

- Russia *has begun* in 1994 a war in Chechnya.
- "I *have been* in the south for one month when I was seventeen" (from interview with Diane).
- "The children *have started* learning English [in the fifth class]" (from interview with Beatrice).
- I *have been* there ten years ago (example of Indian English in 1985:110).
- I *have seen* her yesterday (example of Filipino English in McArthur 2002:346).

#### 7.5.3.3.3 Overuse of progressive

The third feature of verb use commonly found in German English is the overuse of the progressive aspect or the use of the progressive with stative verbs. Overuse of the progressive is evidently a wide-spread feature of global English, as Crystal (1995:338) mentions that the progressive has a wider use in Irish English, Kachru (1982a) shows that it is also a feature of South Asian English and Trudgill and Hannah (1985) mention its presence in West African Englishes. This tendency is particularly obvious in verbs that sometimes have a dynamic meaning (like *to have*). In such cases, I speculate that since English users often hear phrases such as *Mark is having a good time*, they assume that it is also correct to say *Mark is having many books*.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For more on the use of the progressive in German English, see Axelsson and Hahn (2001).

- I *am understanding* it.
- She *is looking* like her mother.
- “They’re *having* words [that are] totally coded” (from interview with Oskar).
- Who *is* this car *belonging* to? (example of Irish English from 1995:338)
- Mohan *is having* two houses (example of South Asian English in Kachru 1982a:360).
- I *am having* a cold (example of West African English in Trudgill and Hannah 1985:104).
- “I *haven’t been reading* a book in German for a long time” (from interview with Steffen).
- “They *were speaking* English quite good” (from interview with Diane).

#### 7.5.3.4 Adverbs

Variations in adverb use are of two types. The first has to do with the use of adjective forms of words for adverbs. The second has to do with variations in adverb placement.

##### 7.5.3.4.1 The disappearance of the adverb

In German English, adjectival forms of a word are often used instead of adverbs. This can be attributed to the fact that some German adjectives and adverbs have the same form (e.g. *gut* = *good* and *well*). But then sentences such as *the film was real interesting* and *the car runs good* can be heard in some varieties of US English (see Trudgill and Hannah 1985). Crystal (1995:327) also notes that the *-ly* adverbial ending is often dropped in Estuary English. These factors combined might contribute to a general disappearance of the adverb, as can be seen in the following example:

- The African American community responded to King’s tactics *different* than in Montgomery.
- “But they all speak *real good*” (from interview with Beatrice).
- “If I was trying to talk really *personal*, then it’s easier for me in German” (from interview with Oskar).
- a *real good* meal (example of US English in Trudgill and Hannah 1985:65).
- They talked very *quiet* for a while (example of Estuary English in Crystal 1995:327).

##### 7.5.3.4.2 Adverb placement

Another feature of adverb use in German English is the variation of its placement; there is often a difference in how L1 and L2 speakers use adverbs. Corpus work on PSE has also revealed a

different word order in adverb placement (Durham 2003a). Examples of flexible adverb placement include:

- Instead of enquiring *critically* his standpoint...
- Now I would like to sum it *briefly* up.
- “*Always* if I write I have to think in German” (from interview with Beatrice).
- “I did *already* a little bit, but that’s not going to be enough” (from interview with Diane).
- Please notice *already now* this date in your busy agenda (example from PSE corpus).

### 7.5.3.5 Prepositions

As in other varieties of English, preposition use in German English may be different. In some cases, a preposition may be substituted by another one that is not normally found in standard English. In other cases, the preposition is simply left out. Variation in preposition use can also be found in South Asian English and in PSE. Crystal (1995:360) notes variation in expressions like *discuss about* and *pay attention on* in South Asian English, while Durham (2003a) has found that preposition use in PSE includes an overuse of *to*, missing or unnecessary prepositions or use of the ‘wrong’ prepositions. Confusion about prepositions may be conflated by the fact that usage is often different, even within standard American and British English (McArthur 2002:253).

#### 7.5.3.5.1 Variation in preposition use

- He is allergic *against* penicillin.
- This is only one example *for* the ways in which literature has a part in creating new social reality.
- I have to turn in the application *until* [=by] Friday.
- They do not know how to react *on* the situation.
- This demonstrates her wish *of* more liberty.
- “I haven’t seen much *from* America” (from interview with Alina).
- “It’s doing something *on* your personality” (from interview with Diane).
- I do not agree *to* the charges *on* the EU that it...(example of EFL English in Melchers and Shaw 2003:188).
- [He] is prohibited *of* transferring money abroad (example of European English in Alexander 1999:27)
- “the need *of* making plans for establishing its norms” (Ammon 2001:357)

#### 7.5.3.5.2 Lack of preposition

- He attracted many young African Americans who searched an alternative to the patient attempt to integrate them.
- Can you explain me why this is so?
- Convey him my greetings (example of South Asian English in Crystal 1995:360).
- I highly recommend you the one... (example from the PSE corpus)

#### 7.5.3.6 Miscellany

The following includes other grammatical features of what might be a form of German English. These include the irregular use of modals, especially in forming the conditional, the use of the gerund and infinitive in verb complementation and non-inversion of the subject in *only* and *never* type constructions.

##### 7.5.3.6.1 Expressing condition

The modal verb *would* is increasingly found in contexts where it has previously been considered 'incorrect'. German students are often taught that *would* cannot be used to express a hypothetical state if this is already signalled by the lexical verb or by a conditional clause (Grau In press). However, Trudgill and Hannah (1985) note that in many dialects of US English, *would* can be used this way. This suggests that the German rule "if and would are never good" may be changing in a new form of European English.

- I know that even if I *would* practise the rest of my life, I would never be good enough.
- That is something I would write in a book if I *would* feel the need to do so.
- I wish I would have done it (example of some US English dialects in Trudgill and Hannah 1985:49).

##### 7.5.3.6.2 Verb complementation: Gerund or infinitive

In some cases, the use of the gerund and the infinitive in verb complementation are mixed in German English. This occurs most often in collocations like *used to*, where the difference between the semi-modal *used to* + *infinitive* and the lexical verb *to be used to* + *gerund or noun* are often confused. Further evidence for confusion between the gerund and the infinitive comes from Milroy and Milroy (1991:106), who find that the expression *use to* as a mark of present tense habitual aspect is gaining currency, even in written varieties, in Singaporean English. Durham (2003b) also investigates variation and finds that the infinitive form (instead of the



gerund) is used more often in PSE. Examples where verb complementation patterns may be changing include:

- I *look forward to hear* from you.
- We are accustomed *to see* such things in the third world, but not in the first.
- He deliberately avoided *to be* arrested.
- I'm *used to write* in a more journalistic way.
- "I would appreciate you *to come*" (from interview with Diane).
- When it comes *to distribute* profits among units of a group... (example of European English in Alexander 1999:28).
- "non-native speakers, being not *used to interact* in a foreign language,..." (Knapp 2002:227)

#### 7.5.3.6.3 Non-inversion of subject in main clause

In many cases, students neglect to reverse the order of subject and verb when starting a sentence with adverbials that negate or restrict, such as in constructions with *barely*, *rarely*, *seldom*, *hardly*, *never*, *nowhere*, *neither* or *nor*. These constructions seem to be difficult for L2 users of English to acquire. Perhaps they also do not seem necessary, as they are most often found in formal and literary language (Hewings 1999:240). This may be another area of English grammar that will become less important as the language is used globally. Examples of sentences that violate this rule include:

- Never I would do something like that.
- Nowhere in the world the whisky is as good as in Scotland.
- Only if politicians act more humanely the situation will change.
- Only if the taxpayer can support the reasonableness of the method and the price, he can avoid penalties (example of European English in Alexander 1999:28).

#### 7.5.4 Punctuation features

Thus far, the features of German English that have been considered could be found in either written or spoken English. The following features, however, are only found in written texts. The examples I will give of these features come from student essays, but I have also found examples of these variations in published texts.

#### 7.5.4.1 Comma use

One piece of punctuation that may be changing its use is the comma. In German, a comma always precedes subordinate clauses that begin with *dass*, *ob*, *seit*, *weil* or *wenn*, etc. Therefore, many German L1 writers of English often insert commas before *that*, *if*, *since*, *because*, or *when* (the equivalents of these words in English). Used in this way, comma use follows syntactic and not phonological guidelines. This type of comma use may become a feature of written German English, as it is not only found in student writing in English but also in published work by German scholars<sup>5</sup>. Examples include:

- Somebody asked me, if I could point one out to him.
- The story starts, when Lizzie West is 25 years old.
- I hope, that you are feeling better today and will be back at work tomorrow.
- I would like to show you, that I am quite experienced in the field of essay writing.
- “It is therefore hardly astonishing, that all other languages trail English in degree of modernization” (Ammon 2001:350).
- “Our findings reveal, that the big-language countries...” (Ammon and McConnell 2002:173)

#### 7.5.4.2 Quotation marks

Another example of variation in punctuation is a difference in the use of quotation marks. German uses a different quotation system than English. The following types of quotation marks are used in texts:

- „quote“

or

- «quotes»

This type of quoting often shows up in texts in English. For example:

- Robert G. Ingersoll meant that „Civilization, liberty, justice, charity, intellectual advancement are all flowers that bloom in the snow.“

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<sup>5</sup> This feature may be reinforced by the fact that it is a form of standard English comma use that was sometimes found in 19<sup>th</sup> century English texts. For example, “Columbus was not able to conceal the fact, that there was danger in the voyage” (from a 19th century grammar book Webb 1882:75).

This feature may appear because of computer programmes that automatically employ the quoting system of the computer's language or because the language setting for the document has not been changed.

### **7.5.5 Pragmatic and rhetorical features**

As increasingly more English texts are being written by L1 German speakers, some pragmatic and rhetorical functional styles in English writing may change. In fact, Kachru (1982a:363) argues that it is "natural that various linguistic devices are exploited to develop functional or communicative styles relevant to social, literary, and cultural contexts" of the place where English is being used. Some styles of layout and argumentation differ between German and English writing (see further Clyne 1987a; 1987b), so German-style rhetorical conventions may be getting transferred into what has been considered Anglo-American writing style, as L2 users of English increasingly assert their ownership of the language.

#### **7.5.5.1 Paragraphing**

In some cases, the German paragraphing style differs from Anglo-American paragraphing. In German, there is something like a 'sub-paragraph' for related but tangential ideas. In addition, each paragraph can start on a new line and is neither indented nor is there a line skipped. This type of paragraphing can also be found in English texts written by German L1 speakers as well as in English texts that have been translated from German. Therefore, this stylistic feature may be transferring into a form of German English. Figure 7.4 illustrates the non-standard paragraphing that was found in an English text published in Germany, while 7.5 shows that found in a FU student's text.

Figure 7.4: English text published in Germany

2) Levels of formality

Two diametrically opposed tendencies may be observed in both the languages under description: a trend towards formality, and a trend towards informality.

In the German language community the trend towards formality is most apparent in academic publications and in quality papers such as the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, while the trend towards informality is most apparent in the popular press and in the controversial news magazine *Der Spiegel*.<sup>17</sup> The language of legal documents is still understandably ultraconservative (in the non-political sense), but it has already been modernised to such an extent that contemporary legal instruments drafted in German are often more readable than their English counterparts.<sup>18</sup> Commercial German has also been pruned and adapted to present-day needs, and most self-respecting business houses see to it that their letters are no longer couched in the dry and turgid formulae of nineteenth-century *commerciales*.<sup>19</sup>

In the English-speaking world the picture is rather different. Here, the trend towards overblown formality is most evident in legal and administrative documents and in erudite publications spawned by defence experts, technologists, scientists, sociologists and economists. There are, however, significant differences between the dominant trends in the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom. Broadly speaking, American jurists, administrators and academics tend to affect a more ponderous style than their British counterparts, and the baleful influence of American 'gobbledygook' has already come under attack on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>20</sup>

In the English-speaking countries the trend towards informality is most pronounced in broadcasting, in newspaper reporting, and in academic publications written by scholars who have specialized in the more traditional branches of learning, or who have sufficient taste and intelligence to realize that good ideas are most effective when presented in a language untrammelled by verbiage.

An interesting article on the use of English in broadcasting recently appeared in *World and Press* (1st March issue 1981, p. 2). The author of the article admits that there is a growing trend towards informality in BBC broadcasts, but he reassures his readers that the resultant 'deterioration' is 'not enough to worry about'.

It is a remarkable fact that even highbrow newspapers and magazines such as *The Times*, the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* now extend a wide hospitality to words and expressions which were once confined to slang and familiar conversation: *wowser* (*The Times* of 9 April 1981, p. 14), *wampum* in the sense of *money* (*ibid.*), *rejigging* in the sense of *rearrangement* (*The Times* of 1 April 1981, p. 19), *to sell someone down the river* (*Financial Times* of 2 April 1981, p. 2), *to turf out* (*The Economist* of 4–10 April 1981, p. 13), *gung-ho* (*The Economist* of 15–21 August 1981, p. 21). One is constantly reminded of the colloquialisms that throng the columns of *Der Spiegel*: *Klitsche* (*Der*

(From Gallagher 1996:25)

It is perhaps because of this difference in paragraphing that German students often have problems in forming paragraphs when writing in English. As one student reflected about her own writing:

- My biggest mistake seems to be that I cling to the German structure of paragraph writing. Language structures the way we think and my brain still works after German neurology.

The following is an excerpt from a student's paper where I criticized the paragraph structure.

**Figure 7.5: German student's text in English**

In general, parents value the time spent with their children and regard it as an important part of building up a strong emotional bond to them. They are prepared to go beyond providing personal care for their children's physical needs.

This can be logically derived from the fact that they had children in the first place since people do not have to have children at all.

Since the 1960s, when the contraceptive pill was invented and became legal, it has been an individual choice to have children.

Moreover, it has become socially acceptable not to reproduce. It is neither regarded as egoistic or abnormal not to have children.

#### **7.5.5.2 Academic style**

The field of contrastive rhetoric maintains that language and writing are cultural phenomena and attempts to uncover how the linguistic and rhetorical conventions of the L1 interfere with writing in the L2 (Conner 1996). In studies of contrastive rhetoric, it has been verified that there are differences in academic style between German and Anglo-American academic texts. Clyne (1987b:233) finds that "English texts by German scholars tend to contain the same cultural discourse patterns as German texts."

An example of the differences between German and English rhetoric comes from Clyne (1987a:81), who claims that German-educated scholars are less likely than their English-educated counterparts to lead the reader through the text in an introductory section, develop the first section from the title and begin their paragraphs with a topic sentence. He also shows that German academic rhetoric is more likely to have digressions, asymmetry and statistics and quotations which are not embedded in the text (Clyne 1987b).

Another study by Mauranen (1993), who compares academic writing in Finnish with academic writing in English, is relevant in the German context since she found that the Finnish strategies resemble the German tradition of academic writing (Mauranen 1993:256). Mauranen suggests



that German academic rhetoric favours a more implicit rhetorical strategy. Compared to academic writing in English, there is less metadiscourse and less emphasis on the main point. This style prefers end-weight strategies in argumentation, starting from a distance and proceeding towards the main point.

Both Mauranen (1993) and Clyne (1987b) conclude that this difference in academic style comes about because Anglo-American rhetoric is more writer responsible while German rhetoric is more reader responsible. In German, the reader is expected to carry much of the processing load. This trend, they explain, comes about because of different views of politeness. German writers imagine that their readers may be insulted by too much metadiscourse that is considered patronising and condescending (Mauranen 1993:254).

However, a more recent study does not confirm that texts in English are more reader responsible than in German. Christian Fandrych and Gabriele Graeffen (2002) find that German authors put a lot of effort into making text organization transparent by commenting on text structure, but they prefer other types of text comments than those commonly found in English. These scholars suggest that German authors express

the immanent order of the text as a sort of *ongoing process*, thereby giving an account of their own mental planning of the text structure. The reader is concerned with what will happen to him when reading the text. Thus, German ordinary academic language makes more lexical devices available for this purpose than English does. English authors, on the other hand, seem to prefer to imagine the text as a *spatial object*. They talk about their text as an already finished product and give an overview of its structure. Deictic expressions are used as 'signposts' of text architecture—as if the author had once again gone through the core text, putting up signposts wherever s/he felt this was necessary (Fandrych and Graeffen 2002:34-35).

Whatever the differences are, it seems clear that they do exist within different cultural styles of rhetoric. Ulla Conner (1996:16) speculates that as people become more sensitive to various societal-cultural intellectual traditions and ways of thought, they become more accepting of variation in rhetorical patterns. This will result in an increase in acceptance of L2 norms in English. Mauranen (2003) argues that differences in rhetorical style must be accepted by the international academic community. She argues that US and UK standards should no longer be the reference point of a truly international discourse community and that it is time to start developing

different standards in this communicative practice. A failure to follow this advice may result in a barrier to the exchange of scholarship between cultures. Therefore, “it is up to academics from English and non-English educational backgrounds to learn to understand and respect one another’s discourse patterns” (Clyne 1987a:82). As a result, as more German academics write in English, German academic style may gain increasing acceptance as a discourse style in English. In this way, a writer’s L1 will be valued as an important resource for writing.

## **7.6 Conclusion: Carrying the weight of the European experience**

This chapter suggests that a new typology of domains of language use is needed to describe the global uses to which the English language is being put. Students of English at the FU use the language as a means of expressing identity and creativity. This use of the language defies the conventional categorization of Germany as an expanding circle/EFL contexts. Germany is being increasingly recognized as a place where English is used as an additional and not a foreign language. Further evidence that a variety of German English is taking form can be found in the fact that efforts are being made to establish an indigenized form of European English as the norm for English education and use in Europe. In this sense, the English language is—to borrow Achebe’s (1975:62) words—able to carry the weight of the European experience. Or to use the rhetoric of scholars writing about new varieties of English in the postcolonial context, a European variety of English can “provide a background and an identity for its speakers which an ‘alien’ English, ‘something from abroad’, never could” (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984: 201). In this work it has been established that the phenomenon of globalization has affected the field of applied linguistics in many ways: there has been an increase in studies about English in all of its varied contexts, there has been an increase of terminology to describe such paradigm shifts, second language users around the world are using English and are relating to and appropriating the language in several contexts. Further theoretical and pedagogical implications of these findings will be discussed in the final chapter.

## CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

### 8.1 Suggestions for applied linguistics

Globalization is a rich area of research that can be analysed from many angles and, for this reason alone, it is bound to be a key topic of discussion in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. As an understanding of this process is essential to allow for productive analysis of recent trends in applied linguistics, Chapter 2 sums up some of the major academic investigations into globalization that have been undertaken in the social sciences. The findings from these disciplines must be accounted for in the field of applied linguistics and a cross-disciplinary approach is imperative for further research into the role of English in globalization.

Chapter 3 demonstrates that globalization has had a significant effect on the field of applied linguistics. Because of the global spread of the language, there is an abundance of literature on global uses of English. This has resulted in confusion in the field and there is no single definition of English that can be applied universally. Because of the complex situation in the world where English means so many things to so many different people, there is a need for case studies which examine the use of English in particular contexts.

As a theoretical approach alone does not provide a sufficient description of globalization, for this study I have undertaken an investigation of a specific community of English users. Sociolinguistic case studies which examine the use of English in particular contexts shed light on what globalization is and how it has affected communities around the world. Such a detailed approach captures factors that are not taken on board by generalized theories. In doing such a case study, I have been able to observe how local factors intermingle with global and European trends. This approach also aids in situating a methodology for English that reflects the needs of the learners in a particular context. The small community that I analysed for this profile are students of English at the Freie Universität Berlin.

As Chapter 4 illustrates, Berlin is a city which offers many opportunities to use English, whether in the tourist industry, with the European government, as the lingua franca of the city's numerous international organizations and businesses, as a means of creative expression or as the language

which is increasingly used in academia. Moreover, the city is an emerging European metropolis. Europe provides an optimal position to observe the variety of contexts in which English is used. Moreover, by investigating a community of English users at a major university, I have been able to avoid taking a purely national approach to assessing language use. The German university is a place that has been strongly influenced by factors of globalization as well as Europeanization. English has been taking on more roles in the German university system, as the language of both publications and international conferences. At the FU, students use English to interact with people from around the world and the language allows them personally to transcend linguistic, national and cultural borders and enjoy the exchange of ideas.

This sociolinguistic profile highlights that English is a language which FU students have learned from a young age and have dedicated a great amount of time and effort to acquiring. It can be assumed that this effort has been worth their while, given the great range of domains in which these students use English. Proficiency in English affords FU students mobility, as a large majority of them have lived abroad for an extended period of time in English-speaking contexts and they regularly travel to places where English is used as a *lingua franca*. English allows them access to a greater range of entertainment, media, music, literature and academic texts than solely their national language would. In addition, these students' use of English in German gives them a greater range of expression and allows for multiple ways of expressing humour and creativity. While these students may not represent the 'average' German or European, they make up the next generation of Europeans who will seek the most rewarding jobs at home or abroad, choose from the full supply of global media culture and keep abreast of advanced science and technology. As they will attain university degrees in an English-related subject, they may also be Europe's next generation of English language experts.

It is clear that English plays an important role in students' lives, so in Chapter 5 I describe the local and national attitudes towards English in the context in which FU students live. While there is a general push to increase English in national schools, an analysis of newspaper articles reveals that there is a corresponding anxiety about the overwhelming popularity of English in Europe. Much scare rhetoric is found in the German media, producing 'moral panic' (Cohen 1987) or the 'Crumbling Castle Syndrome' (Aitchinson 1996). In general, student attitudes to the use of English in society are positive and do not reflect the fears articulated in the media and by language protectionist groups. However, the students do express concern about codeswitching into English (i.e. the use of *Denglisch*). Students' major concern is that there is continued awareness about the

languages of Europe and that users be able to differentiate between the different languages they speak.

One reason why students may be hesitant to agree with national attempts to curb the use of English in Germany is that, for some, such puristic measures conjure up negative associations. Because language policies were used in Germany to support the ideologies of the Third Reich, many people are against any kind of government enforced language planning. Others think that language purification measures might increase negative and nationalistic feelings towards foreign languages and their cultures. Moreover, many Germans may wish to hide in the identity that a foreign language offers. But more than this, English speakers seem to enjoy the fact that the language offers the ability to express hybrid identities. The proficient use of English distances these users from the previous generation, it shows their connection to the emerging political and cultural identity of Europe and it expresses their connection to global culture.

Chapter 6 of this study clearly demonstrates that these students are using English, not only as a means of communication, but also as a language of self-representation. These students use English to express a multitude of identities: while some of them enjoy taking on the mask that a foreign language offers them and hiding in another linguistic identity, others prefer to express their national (or other) identities through English. Furthermore, some users show that they identify with an emerging global culture “and have more—or less—in common with particular ethnic or social groups, professions, age-groups and so on” (Prodromou 2003:10). Such a culture “transgresses national borders and education traditions” (Árva and Medgyes 2000:8). Thus this study has shown that now, more than ever, “it is sociolinguistically inaccurate to think of people belonging to only one social group, once and for all. People participate in many groups (the family, the peer group, and groups defined by class, region, age, ethnicity, gender, etc.): membership changes over time and so does language” (Rampton 1990:98). Therefore, it is more accurate to think of these students as having layers of identity, which include local, national, European and global identities.

These different identities are sometimes expressed by the use of different languages. These students’ uses of English reflect an emerging multilingualism in Europe, as they are not using English instead of their national languages, but in addition to them. After undertaking this investigation, I feel confident in predicting that the national language will continue to serve all necessary functions within Germany, while English will be a language that connects people to a Europeans and/or global community. This study suggests that proficiency in English is not a threat



to the learner's L1, as skilled users are able to negotiate between two (or more) languages. Moreover, proficiency in English does not imply that other foreign languages will not be learned in the future. As English is becoming more of a second language for an increasing number of Europeans, the foreign language learning slot is being freed up for other languages. In fact, many students note that competence in German and English is so commonplace nowadays that to be an attractive candidate on the European job market, applicants should have proficiency in at least three languages.

With these findings in mind, Chapter 7 reconsiders some theoretical models of English to see if they need revision in order to capture the current reality of English. Germany is being increasingly recognized as a place where English is used as an additional and not a foreign language. Furthermore, students of English at the FU use the language as a means of expressing identity and creativity. This use of the language defies the conventional categorization of Germany as an expanding circle/EFL context. Thus typologies such as Kachru's (1985b) three concentric circles are no longer sufficient to describe global uses of English. New typologies, for example Brutt-Griffler's (2002), are needed that do not assume radical differences between first, second and foreign language users and do not place native English speakers at the centre as the most important axis that holds the language together.

## **8.2 Suggestions for ELT**

Another main focus of this work has been to clear up some of the terms used in applied linguistic discourse and to find consensus among several theories about the global role of English. As English is a global language, several linguists support the development of norms for localized uses of the language and suggest that standards should extend beyond L1 varieties. While there is much literature devoted to finding an appropriate name for English, more emphasis on actual critical applied linguistic practice is needed. The results of this study clearly emphasize that students use the language in a wide range of global contexts, demonstrate an impressive linguistic awareness in English and express complex relationships with the language. In response to this, there needs to be a corresponding shift in the pedagogy of English which would account for various functions of English as a global language.

For example, as this study demonstrates that the majority of students who are studying English at the FU will be using the language most often in a lingua franca context, ELT should reflect the global diversity of the language and prepare learners with the skills they require in their lives.

Chapter 6 assessed a particular group of students' needs for and attitudes about English. Results of the questionnaire show that while the majority of students still orient themselves to an L1 regional variety of English, others are consciously embracing a European or German variety. Moreover, several students are only interested in learning 'good' or 'standard' English and do not necessarily relate these adjectives to a particular national variety. The exploratory cluster analysis undertaken in this work shows that there may be several types of language learners who are interested in learning English for different purposes: the US-friendly cluster, the pro-British cluster and the lingua franca cluster. While these results are by no means transferable, several recent linguistic studies have reported similar attitudes towards the use of English as a lingua franca in Europe (e.g. Decke-Cornill 2002; Grau In press; Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2003). Therefore, further investigations should be undertaken in other contexts to contribute to the picture forming here.

Results of my study, taken together with those mentioned above, imply that extended research into the proficient use of L2 English is needed and this could then be used as a pedagogical model. Prodromou (2003) has found that successful L2 English speakers speak the language differently than L1 speakers, but this does not necessarily imply that their use is in any way deficient. In fact, L2 users of English often have advantageous linguistic skills that L1 users do not have (see Seidlhofer 1999). Furthermore, L2 users of English may be extremely proficient, eloquent and creative in their use of the language, more so than many L1 speakers (as the writings of, to take two relevant examples, Janina Brutt-Griffler and Barbara Seidlhofer plainly demonstrate). Such users of English can offer both attractive and realistic models of English by which students can orient themselves. Of course a shift in ELT pedagogy would also take into account students who aim towards acquiring a national model of English—an understandable goal, especially if the learner intends to spend an extended period of time in a country where English is the primary means of communication. But considering the wide-ranging uses that these students of English make of the language, the goals of ELT should place more emphasis on expertise in the language and not on acquiring a particular national model (see Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001; Rampton 1990).

Not only language models but also the content of ELT courses should extend beyond L1 dominated discourse. As English is often used in a lingua franca context, university courses in English should heighten students' awareness of the fact that there are different varieties of English. Students need to be exposed to a wide range of English accents in order to increase their perceptive abilities concerning L2 varieties. As Jenkins (1998) suggests, the emphasis in teaching oral skills should be placed on communication, reception and accommodation. Furthermore, it should be stressed that

communication is about negotiation of meaning, irrespective of the variety the interlocutors speak. In using English globally, speakers must adjust to one another in order to understand each other. This flexibility is just as important as, if not more than, the mastering of prescribed forms. Courses in English should thus place more emphasis on the ability to communicate using the medium of English rather than on the teaching of a particular form of English.

Extending beyond teaching national models of English also implies the need to move away from teaching the philologies. This is particularly germane in the context of the FU. Many students of English are not particularly interested in the histories and cultures of 'traditional' English-speaking countries or are at least equally interested in learning about other English-speaking cultures and other varieties of English beyond those of the US and the UK. A pedagogical approach is needed that is not restricted to national studies. The reality of English "necessitate[s] a turning away from the study of the 'national cultures' of the metropolises and from simply using the language to describe 'local' lifeways" (Lam 1999:391).

Students must also be made aware of the differing organizational techniques and styles of argumentation found in English writing (see Mauranen 2003). When using English as an academic language, students need to be alerted to the consequences involved in their decision. Once informed, students can then make the choice to follow traditional Anglo-American writing norms or purposely flout them. As Fairclough (1992:54) argues with regard to L1 speakers of nonstandard varieties, their linguistic practice "should be informed by estimates of the possibilities, risks and costs of going against dominant judgement of appropriate usage." This approach involves encouraging students to reflect on their own preferences and behaviours, as this will help them to develop a sensitivity to how language is actually used in particular target contexts. Such a pedagogical approach builds a kind of 'rhetorical consciousness' (see Hyland 2002).

As well as encouraging students' rhetorical awareness, there should be measures to increase students' confidence in appropriating English (see Canagarajah 1999; Pennycook 1994). This type of pedagogical approach entails more acceptance of local features of English, especially those which have been proven not to cause interference in lingua franca communication. In Europe where English plays an increasingly important role as a second language, there will surely be an increasing recognition of a European variety of English. In fact, a German variety of English seems to be emerging which is preliminarily described in Chapter 7. This variety is not only influenced by the user's L1 but also by interaction with other L2 users of English. This sketch should be followed

up by further corpus investigations, such as those undertaken by Durham 2003b, James 2000, Mauranen 2003, and Seidlhofer 2001a. Certainly this extensive academic interest in the use of English in Europe promises to result in fruitful investigations into a European variety.

Finally, as trends in the world continue to direct us towards a greater reduction of the importance of borders, students need to be taught skills that enhance intercultural understanding. Obviously, a very important means of achieving a 'community of communication' (Wright 2000) among the people of the world is through a common language. In the words of Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1991:290-91):

It would certainly be good...if the world had a language in which all the nations of the earth could communicate. A common language of communication...for the world: that is the ideal, and we have to struggle for it.

But a common language is not enough; people also need to understand each other at a deeper level. In order for this to come about, educational practices are needed that teach "ways in which one can see differences among civilisations...[B]y getting to the roots of these differences one need not necessarily adopt the point of view of another civilisation, but one can understand how it comes about that certain people are thinking in different ways" (Cox in Dale and Robertson 2003:15). Therefore, it is important for educators to teach effective strategies to handle the reality of human diversity. Education should

promote a dialogue that brings together people from different national cultures and religious backgrounds...It must enable them to examine their own societies and traditions critically. It should prepare them to regard themselves as human before all other identifications. It should enable them to understand what it is like to be someone different from themselves. To that end, education must provide students with knowledge of other cultures; it should enable them to learn other languages, to understand the histories of minorities in their countries, and be familiar with issues concerning gender and sexuality (Robertson 2003:264-65).

This approach implies that English language teaching must place continued emphasis on intercultural communicative competence (see Gnutzmann 1999a). In this way, the teaching of English involves teaching not only about other cultures but about negotiating between cultures. This type of language education has as its goal the production of successful bilinguals who can negotiate between languages and cultures (see Alptekin 2002). English education should prepare

students for the relatively unpredictable needs of lifelong use, and English educators should promote “a global critical literacy through the medium of English” (Wallace 2002:111).

It is my hope that this sociolinguistic analysis of a small community of English users will make a significant contribution to the investigation of globalization in applied linguistics. In doing so, I intend to take forward the debate about the role of English in Europe, the study of language ideologies and the analysis of language and identity. Most importantly, I expect the theoretical and pedagogical implications of this study to lead to a more enlightened applied linguistics that views English as a global language with a diverse community of users who have various goals and motivations. I started this thesis with the poem ‘Dedication,’ in which Gustavo Pérez Firmat articulates how difficult it is to belong to English. I hope that my work will mitigate this struggle and further promote the acceptance of the wide variety of users and uses of English.



## Appendices

Appendix A: Survey of the Literature. This appendix provides a comprehensive review of the literature on the topic of the study. It includes a summary of the major findings and conclusions of the research, as well as a discussion of the limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.

Appendix B: Survey of the Literature. This appendix provides a comprehensive review of the literature on the topic of the study. It includes a summary of the major findings and conclusions of the research, as well as a discussion of the limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.

## Appendix C: Survey of the Literature

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## Appendices

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## Questionnaire

*I would very much appreciate your completing this questionnaire. This questionnaire is for my own personal PhD research and is in no way related to English teaching at the ZE Sprachlabor or the Freie Universität Berlin. Your answers will greatly benefit my personal research. I thank you very much in advance for your time and cooperation. All surveys are anonymous.*

**For survey answers, please circle the number, for example (6), next to the correct choice. Or fill in the blank with the appropriate number, for example: \_\_\_\_\_**

### Part I. Personal Information

1. Year of birth: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Sex:

Female (1)

Male (2)

3. University major (*Hauptfach*): \_\_\_\_\_

4. Minor subjects (*Nebenfach/fächer*): \_\_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_\_

5. Which semester (*Semesterzahl*): \_\_\_\_\_

6. What is your professional objective or ideal choice for a career: \_\_\_\_\_

7. To which of the following geographical areas do you feel yourself connected to most? (*Do not circle more than two*):

The city I live in (1) Please indicate: \_\_\_\_\_

The region or province I am from (2) Please indicate: \_\_\_\_\_

My country (3) Please indicate: \_\_\_\_\_

Europe (4)

The world (5)

8. What is your nationality? \_\_\_\_\_

8a. Apart from your native country, to which country do you feel most connected? (*Do not circle more than two*.):

America (1)

France (5)

Belgium (2)

Scandinavia (6)

Britain (3)

Other (7), which? \_\_\_\_\_

Holland (4)

None (8)

9. What is/are your mother tongue/s: \_\_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_\_

10. Please list the other languages besides English and your mother tongue(s) that you speak and indicate your proficiency level according to the scale:

Completely fluent (1)

Proficient (2)

Intermediate (3)

Basic (4)

<u>Language</u>	<u>Proficiency level</u>
10a.	
10b.	
10c.	

## **Part II. Experiences with foreign languages**

**Please circle the number next to the most appropriate answer to the following questions.**

11. In what city and country did most of your schooling take place? \_\_\_\_\_

12. When did you receive English lessons for the first time?

In the 5<sup>th</sup> grade (1)

In the 6<sup>th</sup> grade (2)

Other, when? \_\_\_\_\_ (3)

Don't know (4)

13. How many years did you study English before entering university?

less than 5 years (1)

5-7 years (2)

8-10 years (3)

11-13 years (4)

More than 13 years (5)

Don't know (6)

14. Did you do a *Leistungskurs* in English?

Yes (1)

No (2)

15. Did you ever study English at a private language institute?

No (1) → Proceed with question 16

Yes (2)

15a. If yes, where? \_\_\_\_\_ For how long? \_\_\_\_\_

**16. Do you hold any certificates for English proficiency?**

No (1) → Proceed with question 17

Yes (2)

**16a. Which certificates do you hold? Indicate all.**

TOEFL (1)

Cambridge Proficiency Certificate (2)

Other (3), which? \_\_\_\_\_

**17. Which of the following statements describes your motivation to study English at university. (Circle all answers that apply.)**

I love the language and I wanted to know more about it. (1)

I have to know English to be able to get a good job. (2)

It is essential to read a lot of English for my studies. (3)

Knowing English enables me to understand people from other cultures. (4)

I have a personal connection with an English-speaking culture. (5)

Other (6), which? \_\_\_\_\_

**18. How often do you travel to places outside of Germany?**

Never (1)

Less than once a year (2)

Once a year (3)

More than once a year (4)

**19. What is usually the purpose of your travels? (Circle all answers that apply.):**

Recreation (1)

Business/work (2)

Education (3)

Other (4), which? \_\_\_\_\_

**20. What other languages besides your mother tongue(s) have you used when abroad? (Circle all answers that apply):**

English (1)

French (2)

German (3)

Other (4), which? \_\_\_\_\_

**21. Have you ever travelled to an English-speaking country?**

Yes (1)

No (2)

22. Have you ever been abroad for longer than a month?

No (1) → Proceed with question 24

Yes (2)

23. To which countries have you been, for how long, and why? (Please fill in the graph below.)

- a. Circle the country/countries you have visited.
- b. Indicate how long the stay was according to the following codes:  
Longer than a month (9)  
Longer than three months (10)  
Longer than six months (11)  
Longer than a year (12)  
Longer than five years (13)
- c. Indicate the reason for your time abroad according to the following codes:  
Growing up abroad, in a German-speaking family (14)  
Growing up abroad, in a non-German-speaking family (15)  
Visiting German-speaking friends or family (16)  
Visiting non-German-speaking friends or family (17)  
A study visit or internship for a limited period of time (18)  
Working for a limited period of time (19)  
Emigration (20)  
Other (21), which? \_\_\_\_\_

Country	Length of stay	Reason for visit
United Kingdom (1)	b. _____	c. _____
Ireland (2)	b. _____	c. _____
Canada (3)	b. _____	c. _____
United States (4)	b. _____	c. _____
South Africa (5)	b. _____	c. _____
Australia/New Zealand (6)	b. _____	c. _____
Other countries where English is recognised as an official language* (7)	b. _____	c. _____
Non-English-speaking countries** (8 )	b. _____	c. _____

\*Countries where English is recognised as an official language are, for instance, India and Singapore.

\*\*Non-English-speaking are, for instance, Japan and France.



**Part III. Current exposure to English**

**Please answer each question using one of the following codes** *(You can use numbers more than once.):*

- Daily (1)
- Several times a week (2)
- Approximately once a week (3)
- At least once a month (4)
- More seldom (5)

**24. How often do you “meet” English in the following situations:**

- 24a. At home, in the family and/or when together with friends/colleagues. \_\_\_\_\_
- 24b. In English song lyrics. \_\_\_\_\_
- 24c. In English movies and TV programmes with subtitles. \_\_\_\_\_
- 24d. In English movies and TV programmes without subtitles. \_\_\_\_\_
- 24e. In German commercials. \_\_\_\_\_
- 24f. In German newspapers, periodicals and magazines. \_\_\_\_\_
- 24g. In advertising leaflets and commercials on local radio stations. \_\_\_\_\_
- 24h. In English computer programmes or other technical products with a manual written in English. \_\_\_\_\_
- 24i. In English reference books. \_\_\_\_\_
- 24j. In English fiction and poetry. \_\_\_\_\_

**Please answer each question using one of the following codes** *(You can use numbers more than once.):*

- At least once a day (1)
- At least once a week (2)
- At least once a month (3)
- At least once a year (4)
- Never/other (5)

- 25. How often do you overhear a conversation in English? \_\_\_\_\_
- 26. How often do you listen to a university lecture in English? \_\_\_\_\_
- 27. How often do you read in English for pleasure? \_\_\_\_\_
- 28. How often do you read newspapers or magazines in English? \_\_\_\_\_
- 29. How often do you watch original TV shows or movies in English? \_\_\_\_\_
- 30. How often do you use the Internet in English? \_\_\_\_\_
- 31. How often do you speak English at university? \_\_\_\_\_
- 32. How often do you speak English in your personal life? \_\_\_\_\_
- 33. How often do you write academically or professionally in English? \_\_\_\_\_
- 34. How often do you write letters, emails, or other informal texts in English? \_\_\_\_\_

**35. Do you feel that the amount of English you use every day is:** *(Circle one only.)*

- More than enough. (1)
- Just the right amount. (2)
- Too much. (3)

**Please answer each question using one of the following codes** *(You can use numbers more than once.):*

- To a great extent (1)
- To a certain extent (2)
- Very little (3)
- Not at all (4)

**36. To what extent are you able to:**

**36a. understand English song lyrics when you listen to music?** \_\_\_\_\_

**36b. understand English movies without subtitles?** \_\_\_\_\_

**36c. read and understand a book written in English?** \_\_\_\_\_

**36d. write a letter in English?** \_\_\_\_\_

**36e. write an academic text in English?** \_\_\_\_\_

**Please answer each question using one of the following codes** *(You can use numbers more than once.):*

- Not at all (1)
- A little (2)
- Quite a bit (3)
- A lot (4)

**37. What do you do in your leisure time?**

**37a. listen to or play rock music?** \_\_\_\_\_

**37b. listen to or play jazz?** \_\_\_\_\_

**37c. listen to or play classical music?** \_\_\_\_\_

**37d. listen to or play rap and/or other hip-hop music?** \_\_\_\_\_

**37e. listen to or play country music?** \_\_\_\_\_

**37f. listen to or play German pop music?** \_\_\_\_\_

**37g. play computer games?** \_\_\_\_\_

**37h. do aerobics?** \_\_\_\_\_

**37i. play golf?** \_\_\_\_\_

**37j. ride horseback?** \_\_\_\_\_

**37k. play a sport?** \_\_\_\_\_ **Which?** \_\_\_\_\_

**37l. do any martial arts?** \_\_\_\_\_ **Which?** \_\_\_\_\_

**38. Are you interested in an activity where English words are used?**

No (1) → Proceed with 39

Yes (2)

**38a. What kind of activity?** \_\_\_\_\_

*(If more than one, write down the one which you spend most time on.)*

**39. Do you work in addition to your university studies?**

No (1) → Proceed with 40

Yes (2)

**39a. Could you describe the work that you do?** \_\_\_\_\_

39b. How often do you meet English at work (including manuals and other texts written in English)?

- Daily (1)
- More than once a week (2)
- Approximately once a week (3)
- At least once a month (4)
- More seldom (5)

**Part IV. Varieties of English**

40. What type of English speaker do you best understand? (Please rank. 1 = best understood )

- American English \_\_\_\_\_
- British English \_\_\_\_\_
- Non-native speakers speaking English \_\_\_\_\_
- Other, which? \_\_\_\_\_

41. If you were to name the type of English you speak, what would you call it?

(Please do not circle more than two.)

- American English (1)
- British English (2)
- Euro-English (3)
- German English (4)
- Global English (5)
- Other (6), which? \_\_\_\_\_

42. Which model of English do you try to imitate when you speak English? (Circle one only.)

- American English (1)
- British English (2)
- Other (3), which? \_\_\_\_\_
- Any type of English as long as I'm understood (4)

43. When you read novels or watch movies or documentaries dealing with the history and culture (or any other aspect of society in general) of an English-speaking country, which country do you prefer to read about? (Circle all that apply.)

- Australia/New Zealand (6)
- Canada (3)
- Ireland (2)
- South Africa (5)
- United Kingdom (1)
- United States (4)
- Other (7), which? \_\_\_\_\_

**44. What do you feel that it is more advantageous to have:**

A native-like accent of one variety of English (1)

**OR**

A neutral variety of English that does not represent one culture or country (2)

**44a. Why?**

**45. In your opinion, is it acceptable to mix British and American English in writing?**

No (1)

Yes (2)

No opinion (3)

**46. In your opinion, is it acceptable to mix British and American English in speaking?**

No (1)

Yes (2)

No opinion (3)

**47. Do you change the variety of English you use according to whom you are speaking with? For example, are you aware of using British English when speaking to someone from England, etc.**

No (1)

Yes (2)

**47a. Why or why not?**

**48. How would you define the type of English you speak?**

**48a. Why do speak this type of English?**

**49. Are you satisfied with your English accent?**

Yes → Proceed with question 50

No

**49a. What variety of English would you rather be able to speak?**

**49b. Why?**

**50. Whom do you like best, the Americans or the British?**

Americans (1)

British (2)

I like/dislike them equally (3)

**51. Which country would you prefer to live in, if you were forced to choose between the UK and the US?**

UK (1)

US (2)

**52. What do you like best, British English or American English?**

British-English (1)

American-English (2)

I like/dislike them equally (3) → Proceed with question 53

**52a. How do you explain your answer?** (*Circle all answers you agree with.*)

because this variety is more cultivated (1)

because this variety is more natural (2)

because this variety represents progress and individualism (3)

because this variety represents traditions and values (4)

because the other variety is ugly (5)

because the other variety is stiff and formal (6)

because I learned this variety at school. (7)

because this variety is more funny and friendly (8)

because this variety represents success (9)

because this is the variety my friends and/or family speak (10)

Other (11) \_\_\_\_\_

**53. Which variety of English would you prefer be taught in European schools?** (*Circle one only*)

American-English (1)

British-English (2)

No difference (3)

Both American and British(4)

Other (5), which? \_\_\_\_\_

**54. Did you ever have an English teacher who didn't accept the use of American words and American pronunciation?**

No (1)

Yes (2)

Don't know/can't remember (3)



**55. Do you expect to need English for your professional career?**

No (1) → Proceed with question 56

Yes (2)

**55a. Do you feel that your potential employers might prefer a specific variety of English?**

No (1) → Proceed with question 56

Yes (2)

**55b. Which one(s)?**

American English (1)

Global English (5)

British English (2)

Other (6), which? \_\_\_\_\_

Euro-English (3)

Any type of English as long as I'm understood (7)

German English (4)

**Part V. Opinions about the role of English**

**Please answer each question using one of the following codes** *(You can use numbers more than once):*

I strongly agree. (1)

I agree with some reservations. (2)

I disagree to some extent. (3)

I strongly disagree. (4)

**56. Do you agree or disagree to the statement that “the presence of English in daily life is . . .**

56a. a threat to my native language. \_\_\_\_\_

56b. a threat to my culture. \_\_\_\_\_

56c. a trend not to be taken seriously. \_\_\_\_\_

56d. a consequence of increased internationalisation. \_\_\_\_\_

56e. useful because it helps improve one's English. \_\_\_\_\_

56f. useful because it helps improve one's cultural horizons. \_\_\_\_\_

**Please answer each question using one of the following codes** *(You can use numbers more than once):*

I strongly agree. (1)

I agree with some reservations. (2)

I disagree to some extent. (3)

I strongly disagree. (4)

**57. Do you agree or disagree to the statement that:**

57a. "All adult Europeans should be able to speak and understand English without problems." \_\_\_\_\_

57b. "All adult Europeans should be able to read and write English without problems." \_\_\_\_\_

57c. "The same amount of German and English lessons should be taught in German schools." \_\_\_\_\_

57d. "More English than German lessons should be taught in German schools." \_\_\_\_\_

57e. "German speakers should not mix English and German in their speech." \_\_\_\_\_

57f. "Mixing English with German sounds trendy." \_\_\_\_\_

57g. "In Germany, we should start to use subtitles instead of dubbing foreign movies." \_\_\_\_\_

**58. What do you think about the use of English in advertisements?** (*Circle one only.*)

- I don't care. (1)
- I think it makes the text more exciting. (2)
- It annoys me because it sounds ridiculous. (3)
- It makes me angry because it may exclude some people from understanding everything they hear and read. (4)
- I think it is unnatural and false, but I have no difficulties understanding it. (5)
- Other (5), which? \_\_\_\_\_

**59. To which of the following statements do you agree most?** (*Circle one only.*)

- "The use of English is mainly caused by influence from the UK." (1)
- "The use of English is mainly caused by influence from the US." (2)
- "The use of English is mainly caused by the need for a global language." (3)

**60. What do you think is/are the most important reason(s) for learning English?** (*Do not circle more than two.*)

- It is good to know because so many things happen in English (1)
- The possibility of getting a job is higher (2)
- You're respected more if you know a foreign language (3)
- You're able to get in touch with people from other countries (4)
- Other (5), which? \_\_\_\_\_

**61. If given the option, which variety of English would you choose to learn?**

- A native variety of English (1)
- A neutral, non-culture based variety (2)

**61a. Why?**

**62. Which statement do you most agree with:** (*Circle one only.*)

- It's better not to try to mimic native speakers, as you should not pretend to be from somewhere that you aren't. (1)
- It's better to sound like a native speaker so that people don't judge you by your accent. (2)
- Neither (3)

**63. How do you feel about your English proficiency?** (*Circle all that apply.*)

- My English is very good. (1)
- My English is good. (2)
- My English is not so good. (3)
- I wish my English were better. (4)

**Please answer each question using one of the following codes** *(You can use numbers more than once.):*

I strongly agree. (1)  
I agree with some reservations. (2)  
I disagree to some extent. (3)  
I strongly disagree. (4)

**64. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:**

64a. "English sounds cool." \_\_\_\_\_

64b. "The English language has something special that connects people." \_\_\_\_\_

64c. "It is easier to speak about emotions in English." \_\_\_\_\_

64d. "Learning English has made me more international." \_\_\_\_\_

64e. "English is a tool for communication and I don't identify with any English-speaking culture." \_\_\_\_\_

64f. "I don't really like the English language and sometimes I resent the fact that I'm forced to use it." \_\_\_\_\_

64g. "Sometimes I feel more myself in English than when speaking my own mother tongue." \_\_\_\_\_

64h. "Communicating in English has made me more tolerant and open-minded." \_\_\_\_\_

64i. "Sometimes I am worried about the effects of English on my native language." \_\_\_\_\_

64j. "English is easier to learn than the other foreign languages I have studied." \_\_\_\_\_

**This questionnaire is anonymous; however, I would like to do some follow-up interviews. If you wouldn't mind being contacted concerning this questionnaire, please supply your name and email address or phone number:**

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND EFFORT!**

**Any other comments?**

## APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF INTERVIEWS

### B.1 Interview with Alina

Cluster 2

27 June 2002

*What is are you studying?*

Wants to be a journalist. Studies Media Studies (Publizistik), with minors in North American Studies and Economics/BWL.

Working at XXX as a Praktikantin. Translating news from English to German. Everyone there speaks good English. Do German news from the international service. Also native speakers there. Tries to do some free-lance journalism. Taking English news texts in English and translating them into German.

*Do you have to speak English as a journalist?*

No. But it's helpful. But doesn't necessarily research in English. Maybe more scientific stuff. Then I'm sure you should know it.

Would like to work in England, maybe.

Would like to have a job where international news and English is involved.

But it would be hard to work in UK as a nonnative speaker: "writing in English again is a different thing". Could work for a German newspaper, maybe.

Wants to write/journalism. Now she's doing more local journalism because she's here.

*Why American Studies?*

Because she originally wanted to do PR for organizations like UNICEF, so NAS because the big organizations are from the US: but now she's changed. What she likes is that she's learned a lot about American literature.

Something she might not have learned outside English. She wanted something in her studies to do with English—reading and writing in English. Didn't do Anglistik because she already knew some things about England. She wanted something new. She likes American Studies (although there could be better offers for the seminars). But I think it's a really cozy institute there.

*Feels connected to Greece and Britain.*

She lived in England for one school year. Sixth form college. It was a great experience. She loved it. Liked the school (better than here). In Brighton, at the coast, at the beach. It was hard at the beginning, but it was great to be away. She was 16. She's just been back for holidays and a short work experience last summer in Brighton at a local paper. Been to the US on holiday. Chicago and Washington.

Not me. A friend of mine at the beginning they said she spoke *la ti da*, I'm from Oxford. She speaks British English. Is it problematic at the JFK. Not really, although some people might tease.

I was a little bit older when she started studying and lots of students at the JFK had just come back from a year studying in America and they thought they were really, really cool and I'm not often there, so I didn't it's more me who is getting annoyed with those people. Because they think what they do is great and much better. And that everything that is American in great. I mean, you can think that but, you know, I don't think that.

*Do you think you're anti-American?*

No, I wouldn't say that. But I don't like this, you know, hey, I've been in America, I'm great.

*So it is more Germans that identify with America that you don't like?*

Yes

*Or is it Americans themselves?*

No it's this German thing that everything that comes from America is great.

*So, uncriticized, unquestioned acceptance?*

Yes.

*But, overall you've liked your courses?*

Yes.

*But you'd rather live in the UK than the US?*

Yes

*Why?*

I don't know. I mean, I would love to live in New York.

I haven't seen much from America but I think it's different whether you live in the city or in the country. And if I lived in America I think I'd only live in the city than in the country. And I think there are nice cities. I mean, Chicago was great and I don't know and Seattle might be great.

England is just, I can't say it's just when I go there, I like it.

*So you identify with it somehow.*

Yes, yes

*And it speaks to you somehow*

Yes yes

Her father is Greek and her mother is German. Grew up in Braunschweig. Came to Berlin 5 years ago, after the *Abitur*. To study. She feels like a Berliner now. Likes it here. Would never move back to Braunschweig—nothing to do there.

Her father spoke Greek to her, but she responded in German. She speaks to her grandmother. It's there somehow but not 100%. She's never really learned formally.

But she thinks that over the years it has gotten a bit more American. When she was in the UK it was good, British English. But now she watches American films so much, so that has influenced her.

*What's your best foreign language?*

It's English

*Anything else?*

I did French and I think that my French is better than my Greek.

*If you went to Greece on holiday would you speak Greek to the people?*

Yes,

*Not English?*

No, because I would understand them and you know, buying bread, I could manage.

*And if you went on holiday to France?*

Well that's hard because I've been there and I tried to speak French but they usually get really, you know, you can't speak properly. so, but sometimes they even ignore if you say something in English, so it depends on how hard the thing is I have to say. Or how much time I have.

*When did you start learning English ?*

At 5<sup>th</sup> grade

*And when you went to England was your English very good*

It was good, yes

*So you could survive?*

Oh yes, definitely. But I needed the time there, you know, to grow more confident and at least learn some things. I mean I hardly speak English here but I don't forget, so I mean it gets worse, but I don't forget everything.

*You said that you don't speak very much English at university?*

Right.

*Read?*



Yes I read English and I go to the cinema and I try to watch the films in English. But it's not active that I speak English. Sometimes I had, you know from the Goethe Institute, they have this tandem thing, but that was the only time I really spoke English.

*So you don't speak English at university?*

No, I mean, only a few seminars are in English.

*So do you wish there was a stronger presence of English in your life or do you wish you had more time to practice?*

Yes, maybe more practice. I mean, if I read, I read English, and I try to read a lot, so.

*You mean novels, or?*

Yes, I like them. And I always buy them when I'm there or I'm buying them at Amazon.

*Like what kind of things?*

I don't know, like Zadie Smith, I love that one. John Irving, I mean he's not British, but, whatever really. I like the cover and I like the story.

*Media studies. Are the texts you read there in English?*

No usually they are in German. Sometimes, very rarely, they are in English, but not very often.

*You did medicine before?*

*Would you say that you like English?*

Yes.

*Do you know why?*

No.

*Did you like it already before you studied it in the UK?*

Oh yes.

*Were you good in it at school?*

Yes and I did a lot at home, I read a lot, I don't know why.

*Somehow motivated?*

Yes, I just liked English, funnily, I don't know.

*But you said that you don't really feel like yourself in English or that it's much harder to express yourself.*

Yes, than in German, yes. Well, I don't speak it everyday. I mean, I think I had to live there and maybe after two or three years I would feel more confident. That's what I said as well with writing in English. I mean I can write an essay, but journalistic style, you know, it would take time. And sometimes for your emotions or whatever you need, I don't know, you need a sentence or a phrase you don't know.

*And we talked about that maybe you speak differently than most of your colleagues at the JFK. Most of them have more American English.*

Yes, I think so, yes.

*And do they noticeably look at you and say, oh you sound funny?*

No.

*And have you picked up any Americanisms?*

I think that there will be, but I don't hear myself talking, so. I think that over the years, it's more American than before. I mean, when I was in English for a year, I think it was quite good British English but you know I only watch the films in English and many of them are American and so the accent might be more American than five years ago.

*And you said that British English is the better English.*

[Giggle] Yes

*Where do you get that idea?*

[Giggle] It sounds better. Yes, it sounds better and em. I often think that, well again, it's this German speaking American English, but it's a different culture or whatever behind it. I don't know, it's this, 'Hey, I speak American English I'm great'. And when I go to Britain I don't, I don't feel that, I don't know.

*So the British are more modest?*

[Giggle] Yes maybe.

*And you said that you think American English is ugly and British English is more cultivated?*

[Giggle] Yes. Well, it's a year ago, but I still think the same.

*It's fine. I just wonder where you get such ideas or what makes you think that way*  
 I think, you could tick it, right? Well, I think it sounds better British English, and what else did I say?  
*That it's 'more cultivated*  
 Yes, it sounds more cultivated.  
*So person who said the same thing, the same sentence, if they said it in American English and they said it in British English, the British one would sound more intelligent or more cultivated? I wonder. Is it because it's the older variety?*  
 No, I think it's only because I like Britain more than I like America. It's just. I don't think it would sound more intellectual, but I would honour this person's maybe more maybe than the other's. I don't know.  
*And do you think this has anything to do with you political views?*  
 Yes, I think so. Because, I mean, even in English, not everyone speaks Oxford English. And today many people speak English but you can't say you know where they're from. And I mean I don't think everyone in America speaks this real American accent. So, yes, the political side is a point, I think.  
*Do you mix English into your German?*  
 I hope not.  
 And does it annoy you when people do?  
 Yes, I mean, there's jeans, ok. But there are people who say: Ich habe Freitag und Samstag *off*". You know, it's "*frei*"! I don't know.  
*It's not shorter, it's not better*  
 No  
 And handy. Well, I see the point. It's hard once the word is there, but if you can avoid it  
*So you make efforts to avoid it?*  
 Well, I wouldn't make the effort to say it in English. [??] I don't know, maybe they got used to it. But for me it wouldn't be as easy as easy to say it in English as to say it in German. I don't think of the word in English.  
*Do you think you have a German accent in English?*  
 I hope not. But I think I have sometimes.  
*Why do you hope not?*  
 My father always used to say, say 'th' because in Greek it's the same. They have a sound that's similar. And he always told me, put the tongue out, it sounds stupid, so  
*So maybe he formed your ideas about that*  
 Maybe, yes. And I think it sounds silly. I mean sometimes I do it as well when I don't think, but this 'th' thing, I hate it. When people say zis and zat

*Are you German?*  
 Yes.  
*And how do you feel about being German?*  
 It's a nationality, I mean.... I think I got more used to it now. Before I really thought, well Germany isn't great. But I don't know. My father hated it here so that's been a point. It's a place where I live and I mean I like it here, so  
*Do you identify with Greece as well?*  
 Usually when I meet people they say oh, Alina, is it Greek? And why is it Greek? So immediately in the first minute everything is said....  
*Do you feel European?*  
 Well, I mean if you ask me, yes, but I don't really identify with anything like German or Greek or European.  
*What do you identify with?*  
 The city I live in and the people around me. I mean, I'm European in the sense that I'm not American or African or Asian so then I'm European, but not if I don't compare it to anything else,  
*But in many ways, you seem like a perfect European. You're Greek and German, you've been in the UK, you're at least trilingual*  
 Maybe, yeah  
*Do you use English everyday?*  
 No, not in my normal life.  
*Do you have any email friends or internet friends that you communicate with in English?*  
 Some, but, I mean email is not that much. It's always just two or three sentences. I might use it more than I think but I don't usually use it as often as I do now when I'm working with Reuters.

Media Studies—texts are usually in German. Rarely in English.

## B.2 Interview with Beatrice

Cluster 3

07.03.01

*Can you start by just telling me something about yourself?*

Ok, ok. Something like a CV?

*Yeah, just a little bit.*

I'm Beatrice. I'm from Ghana, but now I'm a German.

*So you are a German now?*

Since a long time, but, yeah.

*Yeah?*

My parents, we are all Germans, Ghanaian Germans.

I was born in Ghana. And came here when I was 12 years.

Um, oh god. I came to the 5<sup>th</sup> class or the 6<sup>th</sup> class, I think. Did my *Abitur* here. And I'm studying here at the FU.

*Did you come straight to Berlin?*

Yeah, yeah. It was, my mother had, do you know *XXX Bäckerei*?

*Oh, I've heard of it.*

She's a *Konditoreileiter* of a bakery.

*A baker?*

Yes, they bake like wedding cakes.

And so she got a job here.

*From Ghana?*

Yeah. To the *XXX Bäckerei*. So we came here when I was 12 with my little brother; he's now studying here, too.

And I have two other brothers. They were born here both. They're 11 and 8.

And I'm studying English and sports to be a teacher.

*And you're a sports girl, aren't you?*

Yeah, and I do *Leistungssport*, I don't know the English word.

*What is that?*

If you train like 5,6 times a week.

*Oh, so competitive?*

Yeah, athletic.

*And do you play any other sports? Are you a runner?*

A runner and long jump.

*Unhun*

Yeah.

*So what is your mother tongue?*

Ashanti, or Twi

*Is that a different name for the same language?*

Yeah...

I tell you, in Ghana we have like 40 different languages. And Ashanti is the one which the most people speak.

About 75% of the population.

*Is that also kind of the name of a tribe or?*

Yeah, the tribe is Ashanti and the language is Ashanti

*And when did you start learning English?*

Oh. I think when I was 6, 7

*When you first went to school?*

Yeah. Because in Ghana you start. Yeah because not everyone in the class speaks the language I speak, Ashanti, because all the children are from different tribes. English is the official language.

So from kindergarten, class 1, we start speaking English.

*So you started learning it as like a foreign language*

Yeah, or like a second, I can't remember, because it was not a, a foreign language.

Yeah.

You go to school everything is in English, from the first class till the university. Everything is English. All the books are written in English. Everything.

*So had you already started at home to learn some English?*

No.

*No?*

No. At school.

*So like your first day at school was the first time you spoke English?*

Yeah. And it's normal, you don't feel like you're learning a foreign language.

*And so is English for you also like a mother tongue?*

It was but now [laughs]. It was before I came here.

*Yeah.*

It was like English and Ashanti. But now my English is worse than my German [giggle].

*Yeah, you think?*

I think so, yeah, because the vocabulary. I don't know some words any more in English because you don't speak, o.k. Here at the university but

*So even once you started going to school in Ghana did you still speak Ashanti at home?*

At home? Yes of course. And in the break time you speak Ashanti with your friends but in the classroom you HAVE to speak English. You have to. Nobody's allowed to speak any other language apart from English.

Uh huh.

*And so from 6-12 you did school in English?*

Yeah.

*Then you came here. Did you start to learn German before you came her?*

No, no. I didn't even know a word. I didn't even know *Wie geht's Dir?* How are you? No nothing. I came straight here but the teachers talked to me in English.

*Uh huh. In your German school?*

In my German school, yeah. It was, yeah, the 5<sup>th</sup> class. The children have started learning English. So they talked to me in English and in German, but I was young enough to learn it. A year later I could speak.

*German?*

Yeah.

*Did you take extra courses?*

No. Nothing. I just went straight to school to the 5<sup>th</sup> class ... because some people go to a language school, to the, at Nollendorfplatz, the Hartknackschule.

Yeah. A lot of people go there for 3 or 4 months to learn German and then they go to school but

*You didn't.*

*And already then, you still had English lessons at school.*

Yeah.

*So you still had English there.*

Yeah, of course.

*And at home. Then do you still speak Ashanti?*

Yeah. With my parents I speak English and Ashanti.

*Why has it changed now to English and Ashanti?*

In Ghana it's the same. Ok. With my parents I always speak English and Ashanti. Like 'Give me the book'. I would say 'give me' and 'book' in English. Because, do I know, yeah I know the Ashanti word for book, but you use English words.

*So you mix them?*

Yeah, I always mix English and Ashanti. And they, too, my parents.

*And that's probably the normal Ghana.*

Yeah. But to my grandma, I speak purely Ashanti, without any English word.

*And what about your brothers?*

German.

*Yeah?*

Only German [laughs]. So if I am at home, my brother will come to me, no my mom will talk to my brother in German [I think she means Ashanti], like tell Ajua to come and do xxx in Ashanti. He will come upstairs and tell



me: "Ajua, Mama sagt blah blah blah blah." In German and I will answer in German. He will go now and talk to my mom in Twi, in our language.

*So your brothers, even though they were born here, they still speak*

Yeah, yeah. But not so good like German, but they understand everything.

*Not as good as you, maybe?*

No, no, not as good as me. No because they speak our language when my mom say, don't answer in German. But they have to think before they speak it.

*Yeah. And your parents do they both speak German?*

Yeah, yeah. My dad better like my mom. But they all speak real good.

*So, it's a trilingual family?*

Yeah. English, German, and Twi.

*Uh so. Why did you decide to study English at university?*

Because yeah, I've always wanted to be a teacher, sports teacher, and the second subject I didn't know. And after my Abitur I said English. I don't know why.

*And then you had to come to the FU and take this entrance exam?*

Yeah.

*Were you disappointed that you didn't pass?*

Yeeaaa. I was crying. I went to Herrn Preuss. And I said, no it can't be. I have to, no, yeah, because I think it was listening comprehension, I had only 65% or 60

*Unhuh.*

And I don't know why.

*And so you were really upset about that?*

Yeah, of course. I went to him and I was crying and I said, no, my English is good. And then he let me do an extra text. But I had to do an extra test and I passed with 75% and he said o.k., but I still had to do the courses we did.

*So you still had to do the remedial course?*

Yeah, the remedial course. Yeah.

*And then, once you were in there, were you satisfied with your success in the class?*

Yeah. It was o.k.

I mean, my English is not like your English or like my cousins, they live in London. Because I still have this Ghanaian English. I mean, the people live in Ghana, they speak real good. Higher then... do you know what I mean? They speak like, not normal English. It's standard English but it's very high.

*Do they use very British English, or?*

Very British. NO. The accent is not British, but the words and they speak really high. If you go to the university in Ghana, everyone's talking like ...and I learn it at school, at elementary school, so it's still the typical Ghanaian English. Maybe that's why I didn't pass the test, I don't know.

*So what is Ghanaian English?*

Ghanaian English is like, um, 'how are you, hey'. [Laughs]. You know, this not like, they always use o and ah and like pidgin. Have you heard a typical Ghanaian English before?

*Not really.*

No. hm.

*Is the grammar different?*

No the grammar is the same, but the intonations. And they make some words—well they are English words, but maybe you won't use them.

*And so since you've been studying. What other courses have you done?*

Translation, writing, grammar

*And have you done well?*

Yeah. It's ok.

*Have you been satisfied with your results?*

Yeah, not in essay writing, because I did a lot of mistakes.

*What kind of mistakes?*

Not grammar, but what was it. Roberts said sometimes the articles and yeah, and this is German. The mistakes I do. They are not typical mistakes now, they are German mistakes.

*So you think it's interference from there?*

Yeah, yeah, of course because always if I write I have to think in German and then I translate it in English. And some years ago, I didn't do that.



*But does it come easy for you?*

Yeah, I think so.

*And reading.*

Yeah, reading is o.k.

Speaking and listening is worse than reading.

*Listening is difficult?*

It's difficult, yeah. If I hear BBC my father will sit like this and everything is o.k., but I have to pay more attention. If I am hearing German news, I can read a book and still hear what they are saying. But if I'm hearing CNN or BBC, I have to pay attention to hear everything they are saying.

*So now your German is definitely better.*

Yeah, of course, yeah.

*So now, you're planning to go and study in Britain.*

Yeah.

*Why?*

To better my English.

To learn more vocabulary. To speak better. Because as a teacher I know you have to speak better than I do now.

*Is it only for your career that you want to do it, or.*

Yeah and also to get experience because I was in Ghana, I came here and I can't stay here and be a teacher so I just go out...

*Have you been in Britain before?*

Yeah. My relatives are there.

*I think I met your cousins, didn't I?*

Yeah, but they were from Texas.

*Oh, ok. Then it was different ones.*

All the family. We are everywhere.

*So none of them are in Ghana anymore?*

Yeah, my grandparents and some uncles. You know, our family is really big, you know. Every uncle is a member of the family.

*Why did they want to leave Ghana?*

My parents, because of work.

And my uncle in Texas. He studied there... because of work, education.

*Have you been back to Ghana?*

Yeah, two years ago.

*Was that the first time?*

Yeah.

*Just once then, since you left?*

Yeah.

*How long were you there?*

6 weeks. And it was GREAT.

*Yeah. You like it there?*

Yeah. If you have money, if you have enough money, it's like heaven.

*What's it like?*

.... Tema. near Agra. A lot of German people there. Tourist country. almost 20% of the people there are rich. Big cars, Big houses. Every day going to restaurant, to shore, Strand. And like another 20% are like middle and the rest are really poor. So, if you have money, it's really good.

*Would you like to live there again?*

Yeah.

*You would like to go back?*

But not now, but I think somewhere

*So when you learned English in school in Ghana. Was it British English? Ghana English?*

No, Ghana is British English, but the accent is the one I speak. The accent is really Ghanaian. Because the Ghanaian language is like without any intonation. Without any ups and downs.

*But in English, you learned like standard British spelling?*

Yeah.

*And then, in Germany, what kind of English did you learn?*  
British.  
*And your teacher, was she German?*  
Yeah, he, it was a man.  
*Sorry.*  
*He spoke British English?*  
German English [laugh]  
Yeah. At that time my English was better than his.  
He would say not well, but vell and like willage.  
*And at university are you studying EP or NAS?*  
No English.  
*And so you're learning British English.*  
Yeah.  
*And so do you prefer British English to American English?*  
Uh. I can't say. Um. From the sound, I prefer American English but I don't know why actually I chose English Philology. Maybe because my English is more British than American, maybe.  
*Is it easier to understand British English than American English for you?*  
No  
I understand American English better than British English.  
*Yeah?*  
Yeah. Two years ago I visited my cousin in Bourmouth, near London. And I had difficulties at classes to understand. But when my cousins came here from Texas they speak clearly. I understood everything.  
*So American English is understand?*  
It's easier. Yeah. Or your English. At class you understand everything.  
*So are you hoping that when you go to Britain next year?*  
To change?  
*Yeah, that you can understand British English better.*  
Yeah. Of course.  
*How long are planning to stay for?*  
One year.  
*Do you know where you're going yet.*  
Yeah I got UCL—University College of London.  
*You're going to go there?*  
Yeah they've accepted me. And last Friday they called me and accepted me.  
*That's great. That's a very good university*  
Oh I hope so.  
*And so what are you going to study?*  
Un. English. I'm not going to the English department. But they have like English courses for study abroad students.  
*Unhuh.*  
And I can do other courses, too, like British history and  
*Are you going to be able to do sports while you're there.*  
No, but I have to find a club before I go so that I can train there.  
*Do you run competitively.*  
Yeah, everything, like Deutsche Meisterschaft.  
*So are you going to go further with that?*  
No....  
*So you want to go to Britain for a year, you want to come back and you want to finish your studies here. And then maybe you're going to be a teacher in Germany for a while?*  
I think so. I would like to go to Ghana and have my own school.  
*Yeah?*  
Yeah. Because it's not that difficult like here. You just have to have the money, the qualifications, and then it's easier to build like a kindergarten than here of course. And this is what I'm planning...  
*Do you use English every day now? How often do you use English in your regular German life.*

If I talk to my mom, as I said I use English and Twi. But I talk to my boyfriend in German, my friends in German. I think I speak 70%-80% in a day I speak German.

*And for reading or university?*

For reading. Yeah, I read some English books, but less than German. Unless I'm doing some work for the university

*And do you make an effort to watch TV in English.*

Yeah, sometimes, and videocassettes. And sometimes I just want to hear the news in English, so I watch BBC or CNN.

*And if you go to the cinema, do you try and see things in the original language?*

No

Less, usually we go to the German because, you know, friends. And even my Ghanaian friends. We talk German.

*Yeah?*

Always we talk German. But sometimes if we are on the train or something and we don't want other people to understand us then we speak Twi.

*So you use it sometimes as like a secret language.*

Or we just speak English you know just to make fun. But then the typical Ghanaian English.

Dubbing—

*Would you prefer that?*

Yeah, of course.

*What do you think about this. Have you heard about the new controversy that the Germans want to make a law*

Yeah, I know.

*What do you think about that?*

I don't know. Like maybe for the old people. But the young people. I mean, like my brother is 11 and he uses English words too. But his English is, he don't speak English. He doesn't speak good English. It's just like to be cool, or the new words are in English. Or the computer words are English, so I don't know if they can .

*So do you think it's really a problem. Like German is under threat?*

I don't see it as a problem. Maybe the Germans see it like that.

*And does it bother you... advert... McDonalds.*

For me, it's fine. It's fun. O.K. but I can imagine that old people who don't speak English read that and say 'eh, what do they mean?' or they will think that their children don't learn proper German. But I don't really see it as a problem.

*Has it been an advantage for you that you have a good knowledge of English.*

I think so. Like at school, I always had 1 in English.

*Do you use it, like have you travelled much in Europe?*

In Europe, yeah. And you always speak English

I was in Italy this summer with my mom and my dad. Everything was English because I don't know. We were in Sweden, we spoke English.

We can go everywhere. If people can't speak in English then

*Do you have any other international friends?*

Yeah, Turkish, Kurdish. And Vietnam. Yeah Vietnamese. But she's also German.

*Are you a big email user?*

To my cousin it's English, to my friends it's German. I never write in Ashanti.

*How do you feel? Where do you feel your identity is. Are you German?*

Before I went to Ghana two years ago, I thought I'm Ghanaian. No I'm not a German. I'm a Ghanaian. Germans are like this and I don't like them and always if I have a cold, my boyfriend, he's German, I say the stupid weather German. ??? I hate it. But when I went to Ghana [laughs], they said I'm German. [laughs]. They say my Ghanaian. I mean I speak it. But they hear that I'm not living in Ghana. I mean, I use the same words, the same grammar, everything's ok, but they hear I'm not living in Ghana. Even my grandma said "oh your Ashanti is so different now." And other things. If you are living here, you think you are not German, of course not. But if you go back and the people will realize that your behaviour, how you talk, how you move, that everything is not Ghanaian anymore.

But I still say that I'm a Ghanaian.

*So did that upset you?*

Yeah, yeah, of course. Because all the Ghanaian girls. Everyone here wanted to be Ghanaian. Everything has to be Ghanaian. It's the same like with the Turkish people. And if you go there. You realize that you are different.

Because in Ghana, I mean, we are loud. At home it's the same. When my boyfriend first came to us, he asked me if my parents are quarrelling. *Ob sie sich streiten*. But they were just talking [laughs]. And he was like "*Streiten sie sich*" and I was like, "*ne ne. so unterhalten wir uns*". And I know that I'm also loud when I'm talking to my mom. And in Ghana, they are louder. Everything is loud. You hear your neighbours radio. And if your staying there you think it's o.k. and you don't like that the Germans are always, you know, But if you go there, it disturbs you.

*So you realize that you are a little bit different.*

But I'm still a Ghanaian.

Yeah.

I hope so.

*And there's nothing British about you?*

NO, British? No... nothing.

*Even though English is like a very close language to you, you don't feel any association with*

No, nothing, uhun, no

*And how has it been for you. Have you had problems growing up in Germany?*

No, if you are small and black, everybody likes you. "*Oh süß, schwarz!*" you know. And everybody wants to be with you, to be your friend, because you are different. Children are like this. It's the same with my little brothers. You are invited to every birthday party. Just because you are black and they like you. And this is what it was like with me.

*So it's kind of like positive racism?*

Yeah. Of course. I had a lot of friends. I mean, they are still my friends. That's why I didn't realize any discrimination. But if you grow up, then sometimes it's you. Because if somebody just pushes you on the bus. Then you think, it's because I'm black. You know, this is what I thought before. But now. You now, he could do the same thing with a white person. So of course you realize racism, but it's not that much so that I can say I don't want to live here anymore.

*And when you came to the university and you didn't get through that English test. Did you think like, oh this is because I have Ghanaian English?*

No, because it was writing. They couldn't hear.

*And have you liked the stuff you've learned at university?*

It's o.k.

*Has your English improved?*

I don't think so. You know, there are some words, some vocabularies, but

*What has been the most interesting things you've learned about?*

...

you cannot learn English. That why I'm going. If you would like to improve English, to learn more. I think you have to do it on your own. Just to read a newspaper, read some books, watch English TV, but I don't think you can that much here.

*So you feel like you have to go abroad?*

Yeah. I need it.

### B.3 Interview with Diane

Cluster 1

12 June 2002, 14.30

Born 1978, 24 years old.

Was in the Advanced Integrated Course.

Social Anthropology, Minor = Anglistik, Nebenfach

*Why Anglistik and not American studies?*

Yea, because I thought about American studies. But I wasn't sure. I thought American studies is too much about all the political things and only literature from America and I thought that I don't like not to be so specific. But I wasn't sure, you know. I was just choosing. I wanted to English and then I thought Anglistik. I wasn't thinking too much about it. Maybe I thought because there's also so many people been one year in America. And then they come back and know everything about America. And sometimes I don't like. Sounds maybe really ridiculous but I know this from school and it's kind of strange.



*So you don't like them or?*

No, but sometimes they're pretty young. I started studying after traveling a long time. And then I thought people who just get back and they think I've been there one year and then I come back. So I know this pretty well. I'm speaking this language like perfect. And then but it's just one thing about the language. It's more to like ... to know something about America. I thought I don't want to focus only on America.

*And on Britain. Are you focusing more on Britain?*

No, not even this. I don't know. Maybe it's just. I'm focusing more on America than Britain. I've just been there 3 months ago. And I like it a lot. I mean there's a lot of bullshit going on. But I always think that, like Germany, if there's a lot of things not working, there's always something which is very interesting. And I've been to places like San Francisco and New York and they just blew my mind. I've been to the south, like Mississippi and Alabama like 5 years ago. And that's completely another story. And I find it very interesting, like, how you can see the US. It's like a big legend when you grow up in Germany. Everybody wants to go there and do one year exchange and everything and I think it's a such a big country, it's like Europe, you know. And there's so many differences in Europe and yet this is in one country. With one language. A lot of accents, but still one language. And

*So you just went to the States, you said 3 months ago?*

Yeah.

*For how long?*

Just 3 weeks because it's expensive.

*And you had been there before for a holiday.*

Unhuh.

*And you were in the south?*

I've been in the south for one month when I was like 17, I think.

*What did you do there, why did you go to the south?*

mm. the story is. Me and my friend. We were going to do a exchange year in the states. So I was applying for this scholarships or like this. And then I was in the last 3 people and then I thought I'm not going to go. I'm going to finish my school first and I'm going to move together with some people. So I'm not going to go to the States. But she went. And I said o.k. if I can make it, if I can rise the money and everything, then I'm going to visit you. So it happened to her. because she went to EF and she couldn't choose, it happened to her that she went, that she got to Baluxi, which is like [laugh] an experience. And so well I thought well I'm going to visit you. And I went there and it's been really interesting. I mean, I'm glad I didn't stay there for one year but to see it. it belongs to this place. we've also seen New Orleans which was great. The small towns down there.

*And you said before you started studying you were in India?*

hmm

*For two years?*

Uhuh. In India and Nepal. I came back in between to work here. But it felt to me that I was traveling for 2 years. Effectively I've been back here for like 4 months, but just working. And then I went back again.

*What were you were doing?*

The first time I was just traveling basically and just getting to know India. And to know what's about this legend about spiritual and everything. And I wanted to see some spiritual teachers and all this. And the people and the nature and everything. Then I went back. And the second time I went back because I was giving basic lessons to Buddhist nuns. Because I met somebody there. And then I went back. I didn't plan to go back to India but then I met a Lama and he said, you know I have this nunnery and we need somebody to teach them English and if you. And this time I'm going to travel again but I want to stay in one place and do something. And I was thinking I'm going to go to South America because I've been to India and I wanted to do something with children or with women or I wasn't sure. And then he came along and he said I would appreciate you to come. And you don't have to pay. I mean you have to pay for the flight because we don't have any money but to stay there you don't have to pay for food or anything. And I just thought it's a great experience. Because it's in the Himalayas, like far off, like you have to walk 3 days.

*To get there?*



Just to get there. And it's cut off. Cuz in the winter time, it's 6000 meters, the mountains cut it off. So there's nobody in the winter time. You cannot cross the mountain. There's one pass, but  
So that all sounded to me like, o.k. I'm going to try to get that. If I ever get there I would love to get there.  
It's really basic. Just to make them count and basic vocabulary and I am and I try to explain them where they are.  
I had a Weltkugel?

*A globe.*

Yeah, a globe, and I tried to make them understand where they are. Because they don't have much education at all. I mean, once I got there I was sure they need a lot of education, just not English. it's good to know English because they can communicate. And there are much more people, tourists and everything, coming there and it's going to be influenced a lot. But then also it would be much more ...

*So you tried to teach those things through English a little bit?*

I tried. Yeah. I tried to do different things. Which was very hard because I don't speak Ladaiki that well. Just a few words. There were 2 girls of them, they were speaking English quite good. So they had to help me translating. It's been like 3/4 hours a day, and after this I just fell on the floor!

*How long were you there?*

One and a half months.

*Pretty interesting. And then you went on traveling?*

Then I went to Nepal to see some. I was in to Buddhism and I wanted to see some teachers and lamas who came from Tibet. So I went to Nepal.

*And on your paper, you said you were doing some research there or something?*

Yeah, I was going there to see some other nunneries. Because I've been in one in Ladaik. So I went to 3 different ones in Nepal. Which are different because they have a lot more money and they're not so cut off from the world. ... Katmandu... education... nunneries with westerners... wanted to know how women, like nuns are education. How they see themselves. If it's a spiritual thing or if their parents wanted it. ... mountains, your parents send you. Role in their village. Church is a social life. Political things. Celebrations. Social thing, not just spirituality. Western people, legend about spirituality. Hierarchy, ancient religion, it's a hard thing for a nun to be a nun. And they don't behave like nuns at all. They say, if I go to Germany, can I get a lot of money, can I be clean. But they're not all like that. My shoes were nicer. I had a walkman. It's been many young nuns. It still belongs to India where I've been, but different. Not Hindu. Talk about Buddhism. In many ways, it's a pretty intelligent religion. Religion... closer to this than anything else.

English classes at the FU. Grammar. Literature thing on detective stories. Also in advanced integrated course. Didn't pass the test.

*Were you disappointed?*

When I did it, no, because I thought it was going to be really easy. Because I've been traveling. People understand me and it's been never a problem for me. I don't understand every word, but I can make sense of things. And I can talk. And then I had to do this for 3 hours. And then I thought, well. Because I'm not good at grammar, I've never been. At school. I just do it through feeling. And then after one hour, this grammar thing, I thought, it's not going to, I felt it wasn't good. But before I went I thought it's going to be easy so I didn't care.

*Did you grow up in Berlin?*

No I grew up in. I went to school in Berlin, but I grew up in Egypt.

*Egypt?*

And I been born in Berlin. And then I was like 1 year old and I went to Egypt for 6 years or so.

*And why?*

My parents. My dad got this offer to work there and so. And he was an economic, with his company, to trade and stuff and then they ask and I have a brother, he's like two years older then me and they were thinking about it. ...

*Did you go to school there?*

No, my brother did and I just went to kindergarten. And I went to school here then.

*Was it an English kindergarten?*

Yeah. It was mixed. It was. No not English. but German and um Egypt.

*So you came back here when you were 7?*

Unhun.

*And you went to school here?*

Unhuh.

*Where?*

I went to school in Marzahn.

*So, are you an Ossi?*

Yeah. [laughs] I am.

*What was the connection between East Germany and Egypt then?*

Trading relations... wasn't so easy to go there. Telefonabhöre. It's been a big deal that we had a chance to go there. More families sent. Because not so much relations with people there.

Tried not to come back? .... Two families not in the SED. One tried it. ...

*So you grew up in Marzahn. And you went to school there. Did you have English at school?*

Yeah. From the 7<sup>th</sup> grade. First I had to Russian.

*How's your Russian?*

Pretty bad. You forget so much, you know, if you don't have somebody to talk to.

And since then have you used it or done anything with it.

Just sometimes when I meet people from Russia and trying to speak a little bit. Because I did it for such a long time so I still know words. And I still know how to say 'I am' and I am from. And how are you, thank you, please, something like this. Not a lot.

*How old were you in 1989?*

12, I think.

11 or 12.

*And did you keep learning Russian after that?*

Yeah, I had to. For doing the A level. I had to have an exit 9 or 7 years or something. Because you had to have one language

Afterwards I moved to Kreuzberg.

*Your family did?*

I did, without my family.

*You moved out before you finished school?*

Yeah.

*Wow.*

This is. This is.. I didn't went to America, so I moved out. That's why I said I'm not going to take your scholarship. I move and then I finish my school and then I go wherever I want to. So I was trying to find a school in Kreuzberg and I thought you know I just going to take English and maybe another language because I wasn't so much into Russian I thought, maybe I'm not going to use it anyway in my whole life. So like I said. You have to go to a school which is doing Russian because you have to have this years, like 7 years or so. So I went to Mitte for school and then I lived in Kreuzberg. ...

*How were your English lessons?*

In school?

*Yeah. Were they good?*

I liked them. I think um, I like speaking English, so um, I didn't always like my teachers, but

*Why not? What were they like? What is an East German English teacher like?*

Pretty strict. I think she even taught Russian as well, for some time. Not strict but like very um I didn't find her very innovative. You know to make people learn something you have to make them interested to something. And if they don't want to talk about anything, if they don't even think about something and that's your topic then it's pretty difficult I think to make a class talk about something, which they cannot even talk in German. Because they don't care.

*Right.*

But so and then some people were pretty good and some were really bad and some didn't want to talk at all. They didn't like English. So I think it's pretty difficult to make people, 30 pupils, to make them learn something. And um but maybe it's also her personality or something. I remember, she wasn't that bad or something, but she was pretty, you just had to repeat something. The other one I had when I was in the Mitte school where I did my A-level. she was pretty good. But also she really liked the language and um she would talk with us about different things. And there were a few tasks I remember which I really liked to do. You have to hold a small report in front of the class about outsiders. And you had to you could take any type of outsiders and you could even talk about like to make a philosophy out of it. or just to talk about blacks, you know, but you could also do it in another way. And she was really, she made people think in a way. Or maybe she was lucky because there were many people who were also a little bit older, three of them have been to, or four, have been to America for one year. And I

think when you've been away then maybe it's doing something on your personality when you go somewhere all by your own. And to some, at least, maybe not to everybody. But um,  
*Did you have much chance to learn English outside of school. Say in Marzahn. Was the only time you learned English at school?*

Yeah, pretty much. Oh no. I also went to the Volkshochschule.

*During school?*

Yeah. I did two courses, I think. It's some time ago but I did it. I went to the school. And then I also. Because I love music and I always loved music. And the one that has influenced me is English. And I always wanted to know what, I mean, lyrics, like poetry or whatever, what is it about. So it's a nice melody and everything but I also want to understand. So I really sat down and translated songs.

*Like what kind of music?*

Um, it's a little bit like, I don't know if you know about them. Semi-Qs. Things like this. Which are, it's not the same like Nirvana. They're more underground then Nirvana were but things like this. But also maybe sometimes just pop songs that I came across. Um. Even when I was young. When I was 13. When I started to do it I think it might be even New Kids on the Block or something like this.

[we laugh]

*And so was it more American music or British music? Or maybe you didn't notice. It was just in English.*

It's been more American music.

*Yeah?*

Uhhuh. Yep. Of course there was some English music also and I still like it. but it's more ... I don't know if you can say something like there is more American music than there is English but I think in my youth it's been more American music.

And also writers. like I loved Jim Morrison and the Beat Generation and as a writer, like his poems.

*Oh, that's right. You did your poetry project on Jack Kerouac.*

Yeah. I did. And that's been when I grew up. Like when I was 16 or something. I just fell in love with his poetry. And that's also influenced me I think.

*And now do you read much ... what do you read for fun.*

Anything. Like the last. It's been a lot of German literature lately. But also xxx and the Beach, last year.

*Do you have to read a lot of English for your studies?*

I have to. But this semester I'm not taking any classes. Because I'm doing other things. But I just love reading so I read classics like Heart of Darkness or things like this. I didn't had to read it, but I read it. Somebody had to read it, a friend of mine, and then I read it. because it sounded just great. And then I found so much for my Social Anthropology in there...

*And so what are you getting ready to do now?*

I have to complete a research for this social anthropology thing and I'm going to Benin in West Africa. Because I just want to do it. I didn't think about I really want to go to Africa. But to go to Asia is in this institute, it's very difficult because they don't support you with this. Because the only professor who's into Asia, he's just taking 2 or 3 people a year and then he's saying you can do this. You can make a three semester course and just read all the classics. And I think it's much more interesting to go somewhere and to do the research. So I went to the Africa section and I said 'are you going to do anything?' and they said 'o.k. Benin'. And I said yeah please, I just want to get finished with this all now. So I'm going to go to Benin. And I'm going to do research on um it has to do something with childhood. Because the woman who is there and has been doing research for years, she's into childhood in Benin. So it has to relate to this subject. And I think I'm going to do something like, what makes people grow up, like what makes a girl a woman and what makes a boy a man. And what's the rituals that make you grow up. And I also want to focus on western influences or like whatever influences they have. Like if they use. I'm going to go to the city. I'm not going to be in a village. So if they use internet and if they use media at all and if they feel influenced by it. and what's their heroes and what's their beauty ideals. I think I'm going to focus more on women because it's going to be easier for me to talk to girls than to boys. And it's just going to be 3 months, so I think it's enough to focus on that...

*What will be your language of communication?*

Um, it's going to be French.

*Yeah?*

[laugh]

and I'm going a course now and I just hope I'm not going to be lost. Because I'm not so good at French. But, yeah, I didn't had it in school. I'm learning it now. And I'm going to have a course in the semester break. ... that's



going to be a problem for sure. But I'm going to have another one with me, we going to be two in the city, and maybe if I don't get along. I have to ask her to translate for me. Or maybe I'm going to find a student who can also speak English and then she can translate for me. It's going to be really difficult. But it's the only way to do it, so I thought I'm going to do it.

*Yeah, so it would have been to been maybe more handy to get an English-speaking African country.*

Yeah, I could have doing Nigeria. At just the same time. But Nigeria is pretty hot right now, I think like the political situation. And they going to make a research about work. And it's going to be really in the countryside. And this is like, it's not my topic. Like, I don't see myself, I could do this for 3 months sure, but I think it's much more fun, even if it's much more harder, like with the language, but then to have a project that interests me, like. I think for me it's interesting. I can also relate a little bit from the nuns and from people in Asia I met and how they grew up. Because I made some, some of these people I met I made them write their Lebenslauf for me, and I found it very interesting.

*And what do you want to do when you're finished studying.*

Good question! Ha! I hope I'm going to have a very interesting job [laughs]

*You said documentary film maker.*

Yeah. Um. I'm doing a film also in Benin. So this is why I'm going to have another person with me. Because to do it alone is very hard. Um. Yeah. So I have to do much more studies on film. And that's why I want to be finished with this anthropology stuff. And to have much more classes where I can learn filming. Because I did already a little bit on it but that's not going to be enough. So, I would love to do things like this. Because I think it's great. It's great to express yourself with pictures and with films you can do a lot more or you can reach people much more than you do with just science research, I think. Which would maybe be the classical field for me to work in when I'm finished. But I think like um social anthropologists, you can do a lot of things like, I don't know. I think not everybody's going to end up being a classical researcher in remote countries. This is just not happening anymore anyway. I think it's just everything. Like in almost every little place there's been already people. And I'm not so much interested in it anyway, to go into a remote place and just watch people living. Because you can do this for sometime. But I don't think I want to do this for the rest of my life. This is just not what I want.

*So films. Educational films or films that would show...*

Educational films, yeah, but I also even films like you know when we saw like the film like ... when we were reading Hanif Kureishi. And now Mira Nair... and this is something I think you can transport... idea of different worlds.

*What's your connection to Italy?*

I've been there like uh a lot of times and stayed there for 2 months and then again for 3 weeks. I have friends there.

*Do you speak Italian?*

No just really, really

*And then you said your English is pretty American.*

I think I have more an American accent than an English one.

*Why?*

Don't you think so?

*Yeah I know, but how did it happen?*

I think it's more maybe it's from the 3 weeks I spent there. But then I also spent 3 weeks when I was 14 I went to England for 3 weeks to do a language school there. And it's been my first contact, like outside of Germany with English. so it's been English English.

*Was that the only time you were in Britain?*

Yeah.

*3 weeks when you were 14.*

Or 15. yeah, yeah. And I don't know. I find it's a funny accent to me. But for me it would be difficult to speak like this, I think. And maybe also from the movies or from the music or when I went there like when I was 16 or 17 I've been to the States. It's been maybe more influential, I don't know why.

*And your teachers at school. They taught British English, didn't they?*

Yeah, yeah, more than American, for sure.

*And when you were in India was English your language of communication?*

Unhuh. But that's been Indian English, it's like [laughing]

*Can you speak Indian English?*

[ha ha] uh, well, if I just make fun, yeah. Like, yes madam of course, but it takes me a while to get into this.  
[laugh]

*so do you think that your time in India was good for your English?*

yeah, because I also met people traveling and you always speak English, like. I traveled with a girl from South Africa for 2 months the first time I was there and then people from all over the world. And you speak English. so I think

*so maybe when you were there. did you use German at all?*

Yeah, because there were other German travelers...

But I think it's also because of the music or something. Or maybe I just felt more close to English because. It's still funny because when I'm swearing or when I want to say something really right now. I want to tell you something. There's a situation and somebody is like being rude or somebody, it's like really emotional for me. Then I start to speak English sometimes. Which is really strange to me. Like it's not strange but then afterwards when I realize, I'll be like huh?

*Without even thinking about it.*

Yeah.

*You also said that it's easier to express yourself and your emotions in English, didn't you?*

Yeah, could be that I wrote this down. Cuz sometimes I feel like. There are some words like, for example care, like to care for somebody. Or to take care. It's just one word and you have so many expressions. I just, I find it, I like it very much, I don't know. It's just like that I like some words in English or like the way it sounds. And German is sometimes pretty rough like and it's not... poetry, for example, or for songs. I find it difficult. I'm doing music with some friends of mine and in German I find it really hard to sing in German or to express myself. To make it rhyme ... but maybe just because we're not so used to it. as well. I'm sure.

*So you make music and when you sing or whatever you would do it in English?*

Uhhun.

*And you write music?*

No, no, but just lyrics. It's more English than German.

Hm

*And when you do Anglistik. Do you ever come across any problems that you speak American English instead of British English?*

When I'm writing sometimes. Like there's maybe some expressions you wouldn't use, but mostly they don't they think it's o.k. they know, so it's more American. But it's not such a big problem.

*In the survey you said that one of the reasons you're studying English is that you love the language and we talked about that a little bit. And that you had a personal connection with an English-speaking country....*

You know I think. The language you talk to people in India, in America, and in Italy, like for me it's English and I think also because I grew up in Egypt. And of course they speak Arabic, but they also speak English a lot. And I think growing up there and having that sound around me. Just the sound and then not understanding everything. But if you're really small then you get a feeling for a language. And I started to speak Arabic when I was really small. I don't do it any more because that was just a long time. But I think many people also spoke English and I just had this sound around me. And I think maybe it made me you know. It's familiar. Something about it is familiar and when I had to learn it again in school. And I remember when we were like 12 and with this friend who went later to this exchange. We were really looking forward to have English in school. I remember this summer when we were like, 'you know now we're going to start English' and I was really excited about it. I was like finally I can learn English. And it's never been like this when I knew in 7<sup>th</sup> grade that I had to do chemistry or something. [laugh]

*And how do you feel about the English classes you've had so far at the FU?*

The grammars I don't like at all, so. But that's like. The poems are really. I liked it. at first I was much more interested in speaking but sometimes I found the topics really interesting, but then what other people are saying to it it's not be so... um sometimes it's very interesting. But sometimes it's just not what's on my mind. Cuz I find more people that are just out of school and then they study English. it's more a subject that people study than other things. It has happened to me that there were. I don't know like sometimes you talk about a book or something and you feel like you're at school. Like they just came out of school. And then they do like they learned in school. Like this is the way we learned to talk about a book so this is the way we talk about it. and if you're out of school for some time or if you're a little bit older. Then maybe you go just like, you have a different approach on it, maybe.



*So the people you study with are younger or immature?*

Mostly, mostly same or younger. Yeah, like I remember when we had this class and you were raising a topic and I could just feel like the others they had never thought about it. and it makes me a little bit, but that's special that topic. It was something about feminism.

*Yeah. language and gender.*

Yeah, yeah. And I think that when a woman, a girl say that she never had a problem with it and she's not aware of it and she just. I remember this one girl, she was like, no there's no difference and la la la. I just think, like, o.k., let's talk about it in 5 years or something. Because there is, for me there is, and it's not like, it's not to be against men or to be against anything. That's not the case. And we don't have to talk about it like this. ... She wants to stand up and say, but it's like this. But can't because they haven't had that experience and that's o.k. and it's also with books or something ... when you feel like people are not experienced with anything else. Structure, character... nothing interesting. You have to do it. boring. Very schoolish.

But this is also for me, because I don't like grammar. I think it belongs to the whole story, but it's not the interesting part of the story.

*So would you think that you're like pro-American?*

Me? If I'm pro-American?

*Yeah*

Not at all with politics and stuff like this. But I'm glad I went like 3 months ago to America, really. Because I was really into what's going on now with Bush and everything. It's very, um, it's, there's something wrong. With the whole world. And I think it's really um without saying, like being apocalyptic, I think there's something really serious. Not just right now but for years already. And I think the US is doing a lot of bullshit in the world. Like, you know, really serious. I can feel it in so-called third world countries that they're really, not just from the US but from the whole first world countries. There's a lot of things, I don't know... it's going to take long to talk about this. It's really, um horrible. But I think there's just no way. Like for us when Bush was here a few weeks ago. To go on the streets. I think it's been, I really appreciated people going and having this demonstration and everything because I think you have to express that you reject something. Because Germany is not rejecting at all. Like it's just you have this and .... It's been great for us that we had this help, for sure. But then there are so many things, it's difficult. It's like if you have a friend and you say, I want to be your friend but I don't think everything is right what you're doing. And there's something wrong. And if you cannot do this. Because of economic relation and everything. It's pretty, um, but this is politic of the world. It's very complicated and there's something also really bad about it. and, um, but I think for Germany it's also just to get into the paranoia and saying that...or whatever there are so many theories about it. And say America is just evil and they do everything wrong. It's also making yourself, like, I know it's wrong but I cannot do anything. And I'm just like, I think it's wrong but I don't do anything else. This is also just I think it's just making ...

But I don't want to call myself pro-American at all. But I have many friends who are really like America is the worst thing in the world. But they've never been there. And I'm glad I went there because I thought this is really shit, now, what's going on. And then I went there and I met so many people and I felt like, we've seen, they just saw the Twin Towers falling down. So I've been to New York and I just saw between all this shock and you know, cuz, it's never been happening to America that there's something that could really affect them. And you, I've been meeting people in India um houses come down everyday, you know. And they have to leave houses because there are projects on them or whatever on so many things.

And it's not a thing being pro or not. I think there are many beautiful people I know in America. And I don't want to say, I don't like you anymore or you have a bad country. Or your president, or whatever, is bad. Because I think there's a lot of political things in Germany that are bad.

*Yeah, I just wanted to just ask you. How do you feel about being German?*

Ambivalent, pretty much. Like, I came now, it's like two and a half years. It's been a big change for me. Because at this time I decided somehow to make peace with Germany. Which is like making peace with myself. Cuz I'm German, after all I'm German. And it's been not really hard. And before I was really running away from Germany. I just wanted something else. I wanted to have something different. Like everything different. The way of thinking and the way of communicating, the way of being with people. Because I find Germany, very hard. The people are very hard sometimes, I think.

*In both east and west?*

Yeah, kind of. I mean. I find. People tend to say that eastern people are much more friendly. But I found them also many times very narrow in their mind so even if they're friendlier. And it's not true at all. I'm not sure. I have friends from east and west and I like them both, so. It's ...

For sometime when I was traveling, I find it, like, it wasn't a good feeling to say I'm German. But now I'm I don't care about this. I am German. And that's o.k. for me.

*Are you a Berliner?*

Um hun, I am.

*Are you European?*

Yeah. [laughs]

Well, I would like to say I'm a citizen of the world, even if sounds like really, blah blah blah. But it's like, I feel in a way like this. Yeah.

*And maybe one last thing. The presence of English in Germany. And Denglich. And you don't seem to be very worried about the German language.*

No [laughs]. Cuz I'm the worst! I start really speaking English with friends. and then they go like, you with your Anglicism all the time in between. And then I'm like, o.k. that's something who doesn't know me so well, so. Cuz I'm really bad. Like I'm really speaking German and in between I start, like [pfff], saying a sentence in English and um.

*Why?*

Just it fits. For me it fits in between. And I think. To think about German. That maybe everybody would start to speak like this. It's maybe a very strange thought. Like you could say, oh my god everybody's going to be so destroyed or whatever. But, it's an expression maybe of the culture I live in. Or what I think, um, to express myself. And if I feel like this, in this way, I know many Turkish people who speak Turkish and then they speak German in between. And then in between they speak Turkish in between. And so it's o.k. I think. I mean, I still can write German [ha!]

*[looking through the questionnaire] And your accent isn't German English? you said, I hope not.*

[laughs]. Yeah, that's it. you know traveling. Many times when Germans are traveling and then they go like, you're German, right? And you can hear it straight away. Because it sounds like, sometimes it's a really clumsy English. I think. You know when you really have this heavy German accent. And um, I found it always as a compliment when people said, where are you from? Are you Scandinavian or something? And many times they you're German, right? Because especially when they're from Germany. And then we can go on in German. ... I don't know maybe I just wanted to learn the language and you don't have to hear all the time that I'm German.

*o.k.*

And I think using different languages is doing something to you. It's not a whole new identity but it's like something else. I think it's doing something on your mental abilities. Like maybe also accepting that there are differences. Yeah, in a way you move different. I mean, not your whole body or something. But maybe with your mind. If you speak another language. It's uh. I think, I don't know. To me it's like, I learned a little bit Italian. And then just to think in a different way, like to express with this words. I think it's doing something with you. And there's, in Africa people speak 3-4 languages and it's normal for them. And if you go there, and you don't speak the language, then they're like, what's wrong with you. And for us it's such a big deal to learn one. Just another, one foreign language. But this is also my personality. I like doing different things. And I believe that the world is different. And it's good sometimes to think sometimes different or to do things different. And this is so much German, I think, just to do it just in one way. And this is also just an escape or something.

*And so, would you say. I mean, how important of a role does English play in your life?*

If it wouldn't be English, there must be another language. I think it's pretty much, it's not like German, but it's playing a big role and there's be something else to fill this, what I have with English.

**B.4 Interview with Oskar**

Cluster 3—lingua franca cluster

5 June 2002, 14.00, 29

*You're from Berlin?*  
 I was born in Berlin, yes.  
*So you're a Berliner?*  
 I call myself an island child.  
*Really?*  
 Yeah.  
*So you identify pretty strongly with Berlin.*  
 I guess so. I mean I was, 16 I think, when the wall came down. And everybody who came from western Germany before that time always said how cool it was to be in Berlin and oh we don't have to go into the army. And whatsoever and so you know I think you naturally develop something like...  
*Pride?*  
 Kind of a pride.  
 I had to go to the army anyway [we laugh]  
*And you've got some Hungarian connection?*  
 Yeah, my mother from Hungary.  
*But you don't speak Hungarian?*  
 No, ten words. I can get along in Hungary because most of the people can talk German there, but and I can get along saying what time it is and um how many bottles of water I want or whatever.  
*So did your mom speak German to you?*  
 Yeah. She spoke German to me because, I mean, she came to Germany. I think they married in 66 if I'm right. My brother was born in 1970 and she spoke German to both of us because she had to learn German too as well.  
*And she spoke German to your dad?*  
 Yeah.  
*It was interesting to me that—this question where to you feel connected to. You feel more of a Berliner than a German.*  
 Yeah.  
*And it almost seems to me that most Berliners feel like that.*  
 I guess so.  
*That it doesn't feel like the rest of Germany.*  
 It's always been different...inner city. Different from west/east Germany.  
 I was born in Friedenau and I grew up there.  
*Where do you live now?*  
 Now I live in Neukölln.  
*Another interesting pocket of Berlin.*  
 Yeah, it's great.  
*You like it?*  
 I think it's the only place in Berlin where you can watch the first game of the world championship and someone will come out and cry 'Senegal!'...lives there with his girlfriend.  
*And you lived in India for 2 and half years?*  
 Yeah.  
*Why?*  
 Because my father worked there.  
*What does he do?*  
 He's an engineer. He worked then for XXX. It's kind of a general electric for Germany.  
*Where did you live there?*  
 In Bangalore which is now I think a software city.  
*And how old were you?*  
 Uh. I was 9 I think when I went there I was 11 when I came back.  
*And you liked it?*  
 Yeah, I guess so. It was interesting. I mean, to me it wasn't something very special. I was just too young to know how special it was.  
*And now do you think it is?*  
 Uh, I think it's been a big, big influence on me.

How?

Um, the easiest way to say is always. I had a best friend. Which I knew from the kindergarten on but we didn't go to the same preschool. And when I came back from India uh, we tried to revive our friendship a little. And I found out that he had turned into more kind of more nationalistic attitude where I had become more or less I would say cosmopolitan.

*So it detached you in a way from nationality?*

Yeah, I had more of an international culture which I, how do you say, encountered more than just staying here and having German popular culture whatever like most of the others.

*Which would make you appreciate the fact that you live somewhere where the people yell 'Senegal' instead of being annoyed by it.*

Yeah, sure. Right.

*And what kind of school did you go to while you were there?*

It was called the American international school at first when I got there. It was more for foreigners only. Europeans and Americans. Um, all the children of people who had come there to work. It was opened to Indians then while I was there. It was called the Bangalore International school after that. We had an English director, not director; we had an English dean at first. And then we had an Indian.

*And did they teach you everything in English?*

Yeah. I had. My mother prepared us. We had gone to some kind of *Volkshochschul* English course and on TV we watched this British Follow me program. And when we got there we had of course it was a crash course in English. And then all the other courses were held in English.

*So life then turned into English speaking life, mostly.*

Yeah, except at home. And of course there were a few Germans also down there, so.

*And you said it was an American, originally American school.*

Hmm.

And the dean was British English.

*And was it modeled on an American elementary school then or?*

It was just as school as possible. Because you had classes where there were about 3 or 4 people in it. So I don't know what ... role model they had for teaching. I think it was more or less American. In 5<sup>th</sup> grade we started with science. And French. We had a lot of arts. We made a lot of school plays and school plays.

*And from then on you spoke English fluently. I mean, after a crash course.*

I would say so.

*Did your brother go to the same school with you?*

Yeah.

*Did you ever speak to him in English?*

No, only in front of others. If other people were standing around.

*And you said that one of the reasons you chose to study American studies or something with English is because...*

Good grades!

*Easy grades. Is it because of that two years in India?*

Yeah.

*And when you came back was it hard?*

Well, I was kind of lucky because when I came back I got into 7<sup>th</sup> grade and most people didn't know each other. .. difficult to achieve the learning standard. More free and wild in India. Month or two late. Had to learn Latin. Two months of Latin I had miss. *Probetalbjahr*...

*And so your major is North American Studies?*

Yeah

*And how far along are you?*

I have no idea.

*You have no idea?*

*How long have you been studying?*

I think I'm 15<sup>th</sup> semester.

*[laugh] not bad. And so you're not in a hurry.*

No, not really. I'm in a hurry to do something else.

*Like what?*

Point 6.

*Film business.*



*But you're studying theater?*

Yeah

When I started to study theater was like a –what's *Schwerpunkt*.

*Like a major or minor.*

And I had film as a major and then they were split and I didn't bother to go to film because I thought theater was interesting too because you have to do. I think you learn more about acting when you do theater. Even if it's all theory of course.

*And so you work in a cinema now?*

Yeah, part time.

*And you want to be a director? You want to make films.*

Yeah.

*Are you doing that now?*

I've done that and I'm going to do that again. Short films. I can't afford to do anything else.

*What do you do with them?*

Well, I've done three now for an application at the film school.

*In Potsdam?*

No, I've applied three times in Berlin. And two times in Munich and I've kind of been passing through all the films schools... trying to get into various schools but it's hard. Work experience.

*And so would you then give up your studies here and then go and do that?*

Sure.

*And can you use what you've done here? Can you apply it there?*

No, but I'm not saying it's all for nothing. Because in American studies you have a lot of film history and you have culture critique and something that's quite, I think it helps when you start developing topics.

*Is that why you chose American studies?*

No, it's grades I guess, I don't know.

*It was the easiest thing for you to do?*

It was the closest thing to do.

*What do you mean closest?*

Um, I asked myself what's interesting. I had a graduation of 2.9 as a grade, I think, so I couldn't do anything big.

...Film school...has to work and apply... what kind of films...somebody said that I'm kind of filming nightmares, but I'm not ...weird stuff...films...

*So have you been back to India since you were there or have you stayed any other time in an English-speaking country.*

I did a language travel

*What's that?*

Holiday. EF. You go there you have an English course you stay... in Torquay, southern England in 86 or 87.

*But your English is pretty American.*

Yeah. I think that's because of the people I encountered at the school in India. Because there were a lot of Americans there and um I've been keeping up my English by watching a lot of films.

*And so you hear the accent a lot.*

Yeah

*And do you have family or something in Canada?*

... Great aunt

After we left India we chose to visit a few people and ... 85.

*And you were in the US once?*

Same time.

*So since then you haven't had a regular presence of English in your life?*

I haven't been to an English-speaking country since then.

*I was to England again but it was only for 3 weeks. I did a bicycle tour with my father. But that was all.*

*It was seldom that you encounter English.*

I read pretty seldom. I guess that's it. it takes ages for me to finish a book.

*And do you read often in German?*

I think it's more, it's 50/50. I read mostly American writers. And newspapers or whatever I read in German.

*And at university you don't have to have you lectures in English.*



No, we don't have to do that. They always say they would like to do that ... maybe one in ten they do. But most of the time somebody's against it.

*One would think that if you study American studies that your courses would mostly be in English.*

I would have preferred just to have more practice you know in speaking. I had I think all the while maybe 2 courses 2 or 3 courses held in English and 2 of them were because they were American profs who came over here to teach.

*It seemed like from what you said it in that you wished you had more contact with English.*

Yeah. I would have preferred to have most of the lectures in English and it's quite difficult to get to know people who speak English or who have to speak English because maybe they're from Japan or something.

*And so you don't people you have to talk to in English?*

Not many.

*And so you don't use English at all in your normal life here?*

No. Except when tourists ask me if we have any English language films.

*Do you?*

No, they're all dubbed.

*And you don't like that either?*

I don't like the films at all that we play at our cinema...Main stream. Teenage comedies or action...I think it would be nice if they just had better films...

*You described your English as rusty.*

Yeah.

*You feel like it's really rusty.*

I know that most of the vocabulary which I know I don't use when I speak. When I read a book, for instance, there might be 2 in a hundred words that I don't understand if it's a highbrow book.

*Do you look them up?*

I don't bother. I just go over them. If it keeps on repeating, then I start looking them up. But there are a lot more vocabularies that I understand that I don't use.

*So do you do anything to keep your English up?*

I don't know how. I mean, I would have to either try to get an American or British friend or something to speak English with, although for these people they want to talk German now they're here. And I don't have the money to go to America or England for another time.

*Would you like to if you had the money?*

I would. Even though I would go to England.

*Yeah. You said that if given the choice you would prefer to live in the UK. Why?*

Cuz I did American studies. And I must say that I kind of, I'm fed up with American culture. It's just too much. And I think, I don't think that going there would give me anything I don't get here. I mean, I live in Germany, I can go to a Dunkin Donuts, I can go to Walmart even, which is in Neukölln, um but I don't bother. And so why should I go to the States. Of course they have great landscapes. I would like to see the Grand Canyon or stuff like that or the Everglades or whatever. But that's an expensive trip to go right through the States.

*And you're not interested in like American film culture stuff?*

Um, pfff, I think that I know most of it, so I more interested in others, other than American films. When I was young I was always watching American movies ... *Die Hard*, *Indiana Jones*, then I started to see other films. Phase watching Japanese films. Watches films in Japanese with English subtitles. Indian films...Filmfest...

*Did you learn any Indian English? Did you ever have an Indian English accent?*

[laughs]. No, I never had that, but we had a lot of Indians we knew because we moved into a house which was built by an Indian who had moved to New York or something. And he had built two houses next to another and we had the one in the back. And the one in the front was an Indian family living there which we talked to of course in English. And they took us to weddings and a coffee plantage and so we got to know a lot of people who spoke Indian English which was really fun.

*Can you understand it then?*

I guess back then I could understand it fluently, no problem. I don't know how it is now. I haven't heard it in a long time.

*Funny... comment about Indian English. what does that mean?*

Of course it's always interesting to have different slangs or so because they tell you about the culture of a certain place, but if you want to make a global statement, for example, you shouldn't do it in Indian English because most

of the people will feel it's funny and you shouldn't do it in Glasgow English because nobody will understand you. Because try to watch *Trainspotting* in the original. Because I don't get it. I just don't understand anything. Um. But of course the idea should, I mean generally I would say it's ok to have a regional version of a language but you should also be able to speak a global version of it. So I mean, I for instance speak when I talk German I try to talk um do you say High German?

*I don't know but yeah.*

O.k. whatever. But when I get into conversation I start doing Berlin slang, which has become more prominent now that I work at the cinema because most of the people I work with there are from Berlin and are Turkish or something and come from different districts where they all have different slangs.

*So ideally then you have two Englishes or two Germans.*

The regional one will be where the heart is and the 'clean' version, or whatever you want to call it, will be the one where you can make yourself understood.

*But you don't have this in English? you don't have two Englishes?*

I don't have two Englishes. I would have to have an Indian English of course, but I never got one actually. I mean I think I have a certain American accent but I couldn't change it now into Oxford English. It would just sound weird. Even though I started my English with *Follow Me*. (he liked it ... *Muppet Show*)

*So this global variety is the best kind of English you can use. Cuz you said something somewhere about "the best possible English".*

Yeah, when I speak English I want to be understood.

*And that's it?*

Yeah.

*And you don't want to have any kind of identity marker?*

Well, I'm not from an English-speaking country so why should I?

*And what about a German identity through English?*

Pffff.

*I mean, you don't really have a German accent either.*

Yeah... when I went to this 2 or 3 weeks to Torquay to this English travel school. The host family that I wasn't talking pidgin English. That I had an American accent from somewhere. Um. I wouldn't say that I try to work at having a German accent just to show people that I am from Germany.

*How do you feel about being German?*

Heh?

*I mean, it was really interested in the surveys I got that some felt very strongly German and some felt like they wanted to ..*

*Your survey had no mention of Germany at all, the word did not appear anyway.*

Well, we're back to the beginning because I'm a west Berliner. And I think that west Berlin is within Germany a very multinational city. And because of the school I went to in India um, I don't think I really have. I mean, I would always say that I'm from Germany before somewhere else. And then in the next sentence I would say Berlin.

I don't know if I'm typical German or whatever. I'm not trying to be. But I'm not hiding it as well. I don't think I really care. I mean, I could just as well say I'm Hungarian because half of me is Hungarian. I spent some time in Hungary, even though it was only on holidays. I have just as much family in Hungary as here. I guess, when I am abroad I would say that I'm from Germany and then West Berlin. And then we'd have another topic. And then if you get to know me a little bit, then I'd say my mother is from Hungary or so. I would more identify with being a German because I was grown up here.

*And a European?*

Hm. European!<sup>1</sup> Kind of, yeah, but that's even though I haven't been to many states in Europe.

But if you would ask me about film making, for instance, if I would consider myself as a German filmmaker or whatever. I would always say I'm not trying to be a German filmmaker. Because I don't want to make films for a German audience, but for a broader audience. Then I would say I always prefer the European market, so you have different talents everywhere...

*So are your films in German?*

Yeah.

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<sup>1</sup> Sounds hopeful

*Can you imagine that you would make an English film?*

Hm. I don't think I'd have a problem with having a film in English language, but I wouldn't know where. Cuz I wouldn't want to go to America. Because I don't like the American business. ... Britain, *Intimacy*. The film language was kind of universal...

I always liked films who were in other languages. There are not many of them. But I think it's always interesting. Heaven, part English, part Italian. Which I think is the right way to make a film....Going across borders and changing language...

...

Film expert magazines.

The thing is that since I'm trying to start my career from Germany, I'm reading a lot in German. But some of them have articles in English.

*Has English been an advantage for you as a film-kind of person?*

Definitely

If you only see German dubbed versions, you would never learn anything about sound...

*You seemed a little bit worried about the presence of English in Germany and all the Anglicisms.*

Pffff... Did I sound worried?

*A little bit. More than others. Not exceptionally.*

I think that has something to do with the fact that, for instance, I'd rather go to Britain than the States.

I think that the influence of American culture in any way is not so positive as it is always taken. Or very often taken.

It is. Well, I mean, we had September 11<sup>th</sup>. And most of the people have now really seen that there is of course something else than American culture. And they have also seen in how far their own culture has been, I wouldn't say undermined, but influenced or changed by American culture. I think that very many children nowadays growing up in Germany, for instance, have no idea of what is German culture and what is in fact something that has come from America. Like they listen to German rap music and you're going to have to tell them that rap music was developed in the 70s in New York. And in the mid 80s came to Europe. And nowadays you have people like Xavier Nadou doing some typical American soul and rap, just in German language, which is not German culture but an adaption of American culture, turning it back into German. Post-modern throwback. [I interrupt]...

I grew up with the Muppet Show, which was American too, so I'm not saying that it's absolutely bad or whatever. But we only had 5 channels back then and not 24 for hours with multiple shows...the channels are full with American sitcoms. We still had a chance to have German culture, to get in touch with typical German culture.

*What is that?*

Yeah, I knew that this question was coming up.

*No, I mean, I just wonder.*

For instance, we had different ballgames. We were not going out to play basketball. Basketball was absolutely something else. Nobody knew basketball; some people played it of course, but it wasn't that big as it is now. Or American football. We didn't have an American football team in Germany (founded...). We played something called Völker Ball...must be known somewhere else... [Explains]... And I haven't seen that in ages. Nobody knows it anymore.

*I was thinking as well that food is probably different.*

Food, of course. Even though in Germany, we always had a big influence from Italy. We always had Italian food. When you went out to eat with your family, you went to the Italian, a pizza. But of course, it could be that I grew up with more of a German kitchen, what you would call German cuisine.

*Me... McDonalds... I didn't do that...*

I ate French fries and a Curry Wurst when he wanted fast food, not to McDonalds. If they're hungry they say, let's go get a burger, not let's go home and make something. Children's eating. Nutrition. ...

Dominance of the culture is the main part but there are also language problems.

*... fast food in America. ...*

*Your worry is less a worry about language than the dominance of American culture.*

I think that the dominance of the culture is the main part, but of course there are, I mean, I see language problems with the young people nowadays. I mean, I see a lot of kids coming to the cinema ...and I hear how they talk to one another. They're having words, it's like they're totally coded, and I don't know if they have a grammar; I



don't see it. The way they act is something else. But the way they talk comes from the way they act. Or it's supposed to ... assert the way they act, so they're trying to be really cool....expensive movies evening. ... *his monologue about prices.*

This language that these kids are talking, is it like a Turkish German, is it...

It's all of it. that's the problem. It's all or nothing. It's a real wild mix.—even German kids are using things that I think are coming from Turkish German. They way they act, too... Macho attitude. Dis-ing each other.

*And this is a threat to your culture?*

Um. Maybe a threat is a bit hard.

*Well, you agreed with some reservation.*

I think it's kind of sad, because I don't think that these kids get a chance to learn, um, the very traditional German culture, which goes back to Goethe or whatever. I don't think they have a chance to even be able to understand something like Goethe anymore. I mean, even I have problems because you have a lot of words that have new meanings these days. They shift meanings with time. But I think that I was raised in a way that I can still, that it's easier for me to understand old German. But that kids who grow up nowadays who don't even learn, or have difficulties speaking regular high German, or whatever. And they will never be able to understand I think classical Goethe unless they are really, really interested in this and I don't think most of the parents try to teach their children Goethe. You learn it at school.... Boring. *Monologue Goethe.*

I'm just sad that they're more interested in Nike or MTV.

*You think that all Europeans should be able to write, read, speak and understand English.*

It would help.

*Help what?*

It would help the coming of Europe more than having the same currency.

English is of course the choice because it IS a wide-spread language. As you go across the world, English is your first try when you want to talk to somebody. It is already so widely-spread (mostly because the influence of American culture)—why bother arguing about, let's have it French. I think it just costs time.

*But you don't think that this increased presence of English will then make your problem even worse that, people confuse languages. I mean, won't it increase the dominance of American language and culture?*

Um, I don't think people in Germany will start talking in English to each other. I don't think this will happen. I think things will happen like they happen to me sometimes when I try to say something in German and I know the word in English but I don't have the appropriate word in German ready... And I have the same problem the other way around. Of course this will happen because there are words that you can't translate one to one. But just for a global or European melting pot, or whatever, it would help to have kind of a European language, which should still be a second language. So you should grow up as a child maybe in elementary school in your own language, French, German, whatever. And then have English as first foreign language.

*What's the model for this English? American English? British English? Indian English?*

I always like to take the easiest way, so we're in Europe so let's have it British English.

*Because it's close?*

Because it's Europe, not yet, but might be, so. You can always get people to try to find a universal English or whatever. Put them in a room and in twenty years time they come out and say "Oh we've got one!" And everything will have changed already.

But it's stupid I think. Of course other people will argue that nobody talks British English anymore. All the kids have more of an affinity to American English because of MTV and whatever. But in Germany, for instance, at school you learn British English and I think that in most of the other countries in the EU still. So if they start talking with an American English, Who cares? When you start speaking English, you'll know sooner or later that there is a difference, and even I mix them up. I don't think that matters.

*And in writing?*

I always tried to choose American English. But it's hard. I think that I know the rules of American English better. I don't even know if I mix them up in writing English. I always tried to write American English, but it was difficult. I would write theater with an *-er* but I think color looks better with a *u* (colour). But I still try to be consistent.

...

*English has something special that connects people? Agreed with some reservations. What?*

It also has something to do with the culture. The special thing is that it is connected to American popular culture. French has something special, too—all languages do.

The special thing is that is so widespread. But because of American popular culture and everyone is familiar with it. THE language of pop culture. People from everywhere singing in English just to be popular around the world. Shakira from Columbia singing in English. It's also the language of business, which is about pop culture, too.

*You don't "feel yourself" in English and it's not easier to express emotions.*

I don't know why I should be able to express my feelings or emotions better in English when I was raised in German. Maybe if I was living in an English-speaking country for 6 or 10 years, I would like differently about it. But if I was trying to talk really personal, then it's easier for me in German. I wouldn't have to sit there and think about the words I wanted to use.

*Some of them felt less boundaries in English. It wasn't their culture of language and they didn't know the rules.*

It's more psychological than linguistic, maybe they think they can't understand themselves in English, so it's easier, too truthful or too naked.

*I wondered if American culture it's more acceptable to embarrass yourself or expose yourself.*

Maybe it's also a hurrah way of saying hey I speak English, let's do everything in English. Maybe it's just American fever, whatever you want to call it.

*Does that annoy you? Do you have co-students that are like that?*

Annoying is only the fact that there are many students in American studies who are absolutely fascinated by American culture, really indulge in it, but are not critical about it. As I said, I did American Studies and it helped me become more critical about America. Instead of saying, I want to go there, I want to live there, I want to drive a Chevrolet or a Buick and I want to go to Florida when I'm old, whatever. I think that, maybe you could say it's the American dream still working there.

Fellow student, doing American studies, but is still very fascinated by Scotland and Ireland and she is I think quite glad to have quite a Scottish accent.

*Are you like this about India?*

I don't know. The thing is, I lived in Bangalore, which is in southern India. ... never traveled again. I'm interested in going back there and seeing all the other places. No idea of any ... I didn't see that which is considered India because I just lived there. Call it the spiritual India. Wouldn't want to stay there for a longer time again.

## **B.5 Interview with Steffen**

Cluster I

13.03.01

*First of all, just tell me something about yourself.*

I'm 22, my birthday is in May. I was born in Heidelberg and came to Berlin about 12 years ago. My hobbies, maybe. I like to play the guitar and sing, too. Mm and I must say that one of my hobbies is English, too, I don't know. Like everything concerned with English.

*So you consider the language as a hobby?*

Yeah, like speaking it and I don't know watching movies in English, reading books and all literature, all that kind of stuff. Um traveling to English speaking countries, most probably the States

*Where did you start learning English?*

I was in I guess the 5<sup>th</sup> grade I took it for 8 or 9 years in school.

*Did you do a Leistungskurs?*

Yes

*So it was one of your specialties?*

Yeah

*And before you started learning in school did you learn English anywhere else?*

No

*So when you started in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade you didn't really know anything*

No not really

*And did you learn most of your English in school?*

No definitely not. I knew you were going to ask that. It's interesting cuz I've been thinking about that a lot. I don't know, I think I learned more in the first 6 weeks when I went to the States, I went to the States for the first time for 6 weeks. I feel like I learned more than in the 8 or 9 years in school. And that's true I think. Definitely. I don't know why, it's just, you know, they don't teach you in school how people really talk. That's the problem, so.

*In school, were your teachers German?*

Yeah.



*Did they teach you American English or British English?*

British. It's weird because I was thinking about that, too. I don't remember uh the way I talked in school before I went to the States. I don't remember. I don't think I had very much of a British accent but I don't exactly know. Like I can't tell, you know. Like back then. I like I just didn't know whether or not I spoke American or British English. Like I couldn't even differentiate between different dialects, I think so. I don't know.

*Did you learn British spelling and that? Is your writing maybe now different?*

I think everything was pretty much British. Spelling and that.

*When you were first in America did people say, oh you sound British?*

Um. No because like I think I kind of got aware of different kind of dialects or kind of changed my dialect in I don't know in 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> grade. Because like, I don't know. I don't know whether it was because we started talking about the States. Like I don't remember when we first started ... about the States. I think it was with all these *Greenline* and *Orangeline* books kind of things, like that you have in school here in Germany so. I kind of got interested uh in the States and like people and the culture and the language. And then like, I don't know, I kind of got to know a little more and uh you know listened to how people in the States talk and watched movies, like if I had the chance to watch movies in English like in the normal TV, you know, you can switch sometimes between the original language and you know I kind of did that and watched I don't know sitcoms and movies in English which were mostly American movies or shows, you know, so. I kind of got into that and the more I got used to it the more I kind of adopted it.

*So you were already interested more in America when you were in school?*

Yes like, exactly, because, like I don't know when my interest in English started, the interest started I guess for American English.

*So British English didn't attract you?*

No, no, I don't know why. I don't know that's just the way it was.

*And when did you first go to America?*

It was in 96

*After high school?*

Yeah. No that was the year before. Yeah like in the summer break. Before the last year of high school.

*What did you do while you were there?*

Oh I was visiting friends.

*American friends?*

Yeah.

*And where had you met them?*

In high school. There was this exchange program kind of thing and these girls from Milwaukee came to our school. And, you know, we became best friends and they invited me to come over.

*So you went to Milwaukee?*

Exactly.

*For how long?*

6 weeks over the summer.

*Ok. So that's when you felt like you learned a lot?*

Yes

*And these girls from Milwaukee, did you speak English to them when they were in Germany?*

Yeah.

*Was one of them your girlfriend?*

Um, not really. Like. I kind of don't know. When she was here she, we were kind of like, I don't know. I kind of knew she liked me a lot. She wrote me this letter and blah blah blah. Ok. But she wrote me this really nice letter that said she loved me blah blah blah but that was when she was back already. And then I knew, o.k., I was going to be going over there next summer. So I was like, I like you a lot, too, so, I don't know, but when I went over there I realized she had changed and I was kind of disappointed because she, like, didn't say anything about that in the letter and stuff. And so it didn't turn into anything ... giggle... it was kind of long ago.<sup>2</sup>

*So you're not ....*

Giggle. Not about this girl, no.

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<sup>2</sup> I later told Sebastian that I wasn't asking these questions to torture him, but to find out if a love interest had played a major part in him acquiring the language.

*Um, o.k and what about. Did you learn any other languages in school?*

Yeah, French.

*Do you like French?*

Um, I don't know. I think I do like it. The thing is I don't know it very well anymore. But like I took it for while a few years in school but I didn't really get into it a lot and like in the country and the culture and stuff, so I wouldn't, I wasn't that interested in French, so like I don't remember a lot.

*So you don't speak French?*

Not really. I never tried, like I haven't tried in a long time. I think once like or if I go back to French for like a couple of weeks than a lot of things would probably pop out again in my mind and so like I don't know. I forgot a lot of it. I wouldn't say I speak French.

*Anything else?*

No. Not really, couple sentences in various languages but that's it.

*And you didn't study any other languages?*

No.

*What about the other people in your family. Like do your parents speak English?*

My mom does. She was in the States for almost two years in 61 to 63, as an au pair. She kind of immigrated because that's how it went back then. They had to immigrate. And she stayed there with a family.

*So was she interested in America and maybe that was a part of your interest?*

No. I think she was interested. I don't know. It's a long time ago but I think she was in ....

*And so, she speaks English.*

Yeah. I mean she has forgotten a lot. Definitely but

*Are you better than she is?*

I think so, yeah.

*And your dad?*

He does speak a little, I mean, like how Germans speak English.

*Are they fluent in any other languages?*

No, no.

*And do you have a sister or something?*

I have two sisters.

*Do they speak English?*

Yeah, the one does speak English, quite well I think. She's a flight attendant for Lufthansa. Yeah, she does. And my other sister she's a doctor in Augsburg, Bavaria. She does speak but I can't, I mean I never talk English to her. I can't really tell. Ok, not well, o.k I think. She has to do a lot of reading, I think, in English, because all this kind of stuff is in English.

*Do you don't use English at home or anything?*

Unfortunately not.

*Unfortunately?*

Unfortunately, I love to. I mean, I love to speak English.

Yeah?

Definitely.

So, do you feel bilingual?

[Long pause.] Um. Like in the sense that I speak two languages, yeah.

*That you can switch in and out of the two.*

Yeah, yeah. Definitely. I'm aware that English is not my mother tongue. But I can, in the sense of that.

*And is that your goal? To be bilingual?*

Yeah, definitely. But, I mean, it can't be like, yeah, like, I'll never be able to speak like a native speaker, I think. But I'm trying to, like, I don't know, get it as close to that as possible, so.

*Like a native speaker?*

Like a native speaker.

*Of American English?*

Yeah, obviously.

*And um, so why do you think you prefer American English?*

I don't know. The only thing is the interest...(struggling) Why do I prefer American English? It's because I... it's hard, it's interesting. I don't know. Because I, you know, met people from the States. And like my interests in this country kind of started, I don't know, I knew these people over there, you know, and uh I don't know like... it's

hard to say like how interests start. It's just something you feel attracted to and I felt attracted to the country, you know, like the land, the nature of the States, the people, the culture, like. You know, it's not that I'm saying it's all wonderful and super over there. There are a lot of flaws in this country definitely, but, for sure, but um. And then, with all that, and the language is part of all that. And so I got interested in that too, so I don't know. That's why I prefer it. And to me it's just, I don't know, it sounds nicer, like personally, than British English. I don't know why. It's just the way I feel. It's sounds like British English sounds much harsher to and like I don't know and you the American English sounds a little softer, I don't know.

*Some people say that British is more stiff and uptight, do you agree.*

Yeah. I would agree. And to me, it sounds a little more German. I don't know. Kind of like the pronunciation of words in British are often more kind of German because sometimes they to me they often do not pronounce certain letters in a word. For me if you say a lot, like most accents in British say 'car' and they don't pronounce the 'r'. I mean there are dialects in the States too that do that, but you know, most of them say 'car'. and to me there is an 'r' so why don't you pronounce it and it sounds nicer to me.

*And um so what has it been like for you at university. Tell me exactly what you're studying.*

That's English Philology with a concentration on North America.

*And so, you have the choice there between British and American.*

Yeah.

*And you're doing the Staatsexam?*

Yeah.

*So you want to be a teacher?*

I think so. We'll see, I guess.

*And what else do you study.*

Special education.

*So was your goal to be a special education teacher with a concentration in English?*

No like my intention was to learn English first and you know to be involved and like surrounded with English as much as possible. and so, I don't know, like and I feel like it might be a lot of fun to teach English because I like the language so much and I kind of feel like I can encourage other people to learn it too, because I think it's a great thing. But I don't know I really don't want to be a teacher in a school for learning disabled persons because I don't they don't even speak their native tongue very well. And I couldn't teach English. I don't know, I don't know my dream is to come back to the university and do something at university with the language or whatever, but we'll see

*So would you like to live in America?*

I don't know. I was thinking about that a lot. I don't know. It depends, I think. It depends on where your family is or where in the future my own family will be, maybe I don't know if I have a wife or I meet someone over there then I marry over there maybe I will I don't know. It's hard because I still, when I'm over there I still feel it's pretty different in a lot of ways.

*So you still feel foreign?*

Nn, not really foreign. It's not that I don't feel comfortable over there it's uh, I do, but I don't know, I think I would have to like try to go over there for like two or three years and check it out. But I mean I know what life is like over there. I can tell. So, that's why I'm not sure. You know.

*Since your six weeks there in high school, how often have you been back?*

Um. Twice. [calculates]

The second time for two months and um only for a month. I was going to be over there for longer but then I wanted to go back to my girlfriend. So, it's weird, it's not that long actually, but to me it's really long, like. In the sense of that I learned a lot, you know, in English. For me like it's weird because it's like I really kind of like suck up and swallow all that I hear, very, very much. You know like I can remember almost so many situations in which people talked and I remember what and how they said it. and I really kind of record it in my head and that's why I learn so fast. When I'm over there. And that's with that.

*How have your results been at university? Are you satisfied with how you've performed in your university classes?*

Yeah. Actually, yes. Except the what was that, the listening comprehension. That was kind of weird. All in all, yeah. I'm aware of what I know. And I'm pretty demanding, like, with myself. But I think I'm doing o.k.

*And have you been satisfied with what you've been able to learn here at the FU?*

Um, yeah. Actually, yes. I mean I did a lot of reading and studying, like on my own and like not things that they taught me in courses, it was just kind of like my personal interest so I kind of got ....



*Your studies are more oriented towards North American studies, but do you have to do anything with British English.*

Yeah, like some literature, I think, and the linguistic courses we have to do at the English department and not at the JFK.

*So what has been your favorite thing to learn about?*

Uh. The language course and sociolinguistics and stuff like that. Dialectology. That's my special preference.

*And so you learn about different dialects of American English?*

Exactly.

*Do you think you're more interested in courses that are about American things.*

yeah

*Is there any spark for the British side?*

Um not really. It's probably because. If I were more interested in the country itself, like England I think I'd be more interested in British English too. But you know, England it's not very much different, it's so European, so it's not really I don't know there's nothing that really attracts me a lot.

*Have you been in the UK?*

Yeah, once. When I was in the 11<sup>th</sup> grade for two weeks and I went to London. It was alright. It was , I don't know, it's just that it's not very special I feel. I mean I've not seen a lot of English. I mean, I think it's a beautiful country, you can tell, but I don't know

*Do you have any British friends.*

No

It's not that I despise England.

*It's interesting because you're somebody who very obviously prefers American English to British English and I noticed that just in the classroom.*

*So do you think that there is a bias for British English in the German education system.*

Yeah, I think so. At least teachers in school. I mean I never ran into any English teachers who speak American English.

*And have you felt prejudiced or wronged because you use more American English than British.*

No, no, I just felt like that my teacher didn't know very much about American English and that kind of pissed me off a little bit sometimes. Because she wasn't even sure if we had to stick to American or British English. I mean like once she said we do, then she said we could switch. And at that time I didn't really know about that either, so I wasn't sure, but now I know. And I know that a lot of British and Americans mix them up, too, so .....

*Consistent?*

Yeah, I think I am. It's a little easier and shorter.

*So how often do you use English?*

Every day.

*How?*

Watching TV, reading, writing emails,

*So you communicate with friends in America?*

Exactly.

*Anywhere else?*

No.

*And so you have cable tv*

Yeah

*And you watch CNN*

Yeah

*What else?*

BBC .....NBC, Jay Lenno, Saturday Night Live

*What kind of cultural things are you interested in?*

Hard to keep up.

*Do you read the American newspaper or magazine?*

Not right now. I had a subscription to the International Herald Tribune a while back.

*And what kind of stuff do you read?*

Uh, all kinds of stuff. Right now I'm reading a couple of books. Like a book on Bill Clinton and a book on Sociolinguistics. Welsh writer....

*Are these things you have to read for university?*

I don't have to read them for university. I mean the sociolinguistics book, I don't have to read it but it's good for me to read because I've thought about taking a lot more sociolinguistics classes.

*Do you ever read the German translations?*

I must admit that I haven't been reading a book in German for a long time. So I usually read it in English. Because I feel like, you know, I like to read a lot, so why not read in English and practice.

*And then do you also prefer TV shows and that that are in the original?*

Yeah.

*Do you watch a lot of German telly?*

Yeah, I mean. What's not on cable.

*Do you wish they wouldn't dub.*

Yeah, I mean because you learn so much from English on TV

*And if you go to the cinema do you try to watch the original version?*

Um, usually not because, you know, if you go with friends most of them don't want to watch the English version so I'm not doing that a lot.

*Are you interested in German cinema or German literature.*

No, not really.

*So what do you think about this current debate about English in Germany?*

That's interesting. Um, I don't know. Maybe I'm not, I don't know, the best person to ask that because I'm not really objective. Because, for me, like, for me, it's cool. You know, I don't know, I don't care if there are a lot of English words in the German language I mean, because I like the language, the English language, so and I don't care very much about my own language and my mother tongue, so um. And well there certainly is a, I don't know, a slight danger that I don't know German gets overrun by the Americanisms too much maybe but I don't know, I don't care because I like English, you know.

*....Why do people chose the English word?*

There's always certain coolness to English words in Germany, definitely. So, it's been for a while, I think.

*So you think it's cool?*

Uh, I don't know. Like, for a lot of people, English is cool. I don't feel cool if I use an English word. If I talk German, I don't usually. There's a lot of English words in German and there for a long, as there is German words in English, too. Well, I think a lot of people think it's cool, especially young people. But I don't think that's the reason why there are becoming more and more English words in the German language. There's I think, the computer technology has had a great impact on that.

*...Why is English used in advertising (like McDonalds advert)?*

In general, there is a great attraction to everything connected with the States. Because America is so innovative, it's so new and there's a lot of great action and motion. People in the rest of the world want to adopt this and be part of this a little. And that's why I think in commercials probably it's just a new way to do commercials.

*..... o.k. so, you were telling me about your hobbies and you like music and you play guitar. Do you play in a band or anything?*

No, unfortunately not.

*Do you write music?*

Yeah, a little.

*What language do you write your lyrics in?*

English

*Always?*

Yeah

*Never any German?*

No. That's why I don't know, because I feel English is, I don't know, it just sounds nicer to say it in English. I don't know because German is a very harsh language too, I feel, and um, I don't know, it just fits better to the music. And probably because I also kind of can hide between English in away because if I write then my lyrics, if I write lyrics, are for sure personal and um, so I can kind of hide between or behind them a little. Because if I, I don't know, perform and play a song like for some people, they might not, um, understand everything which is maybe something I want sometimes, I don't know.

*And what kind of music do you listen to?*

I must say American music. There's so much music over there and I think there's the best music over there. It's just

*Like what kind of genre do you listen to, like Hip Hop?*



Uh, no, no, mostly more rocky jazzy music. I like Pearl Jam. But I also like, my favorite band is the Dave Matthews Band, I don't know if you've heard of them.

No.

They're very popular in the States. [Laughs.] You've been away way too long. [Laughs.] Yeah. You should listen to them; they're really good.

*Any German bands?*

No

*You don't like any German bands?*

No.

*In your whole music collection, you don't have any German CDs?*

Hm,... in my collection, no. There's not a single German band, no. There's not a whole lot of music in Germany, like good music.

*That's not true!*

Is there?

*Oh, I'm not supposed to say anything. [laughs]*

*So it's definitely invaded your taste of music. And how about like clothes. Do you shop in like American shops, like Gap.*

Yeah.

*So do you think it's also affected the way you dress?*

Yeah, I don't know [Laughs] I feel like I'm totally, I don't know like, despising Germany and, I don't know, trying to be American. I don't know. I don't know. It's so weird. I don't know why I like the American dressing style better than the German one. It's probably because it's different and something new, not something I've seen my entire life. I don't know why. It's, it's all part of me being attracted to the States. I don't know.

*What about food? Do you eat more American?*

No! That's one thing. I like the German food better. Yeah. Definitely.

*Everybody says American food is fast food. Do you eat a lot of fast food?*

Not a lot, no. Every once in a while. No. I prefer German food. Well there is, like, what's German food, what's American food, you know?

*Pubs and stuff. Where do you like to go out?*

I go to all kinds of places. Irish pubs, American bars, German restaurants, Mexican restaurants.

*So, what about politics. Are you interested in American politics?*

Yeah, I am.

*Who would you have voted for in the last election?*

I don't know. I probably would have voted for Bush but only because I like him better. I think he's just like nicer. I can't really tell. Because I didn't really follow the whole campaign.

*Are you very interested in German politics?*

The usual. Not very much. ...

*Are there other places in the world that you're particularly interested in?*

Uh, yeah. I'd really love to go to Australia, New Zealand. I love Sweden. I've been to Sweden quite a few times.

Um. Maybe South Africa.

*So English speaking countries mostly?*

Yeah.

*Do you feel like that by learning English you've become less German?*

No. I don't think so. I think that I feel like I've become more global maybe. It just like really broadens your horizons you know to learn a different language. That's what happened to me, definitely.

*How do you feel about being German?*

I mean, it's good. I'm glad to live here. The thing is I remember when I went to the states the first time and I got into speaking English a lot. And after a while I thought about my mother tongue like I had never done before. And I realized that it's actually a cool thing. To have a mother tongue. And it's cool to be able to speak it and I think you kind of have to step away from things to appreciate it. and so I kind of appreciated my mother tongue for the first time in my life. It's not that I hate my mother tongue and everything German. I mean, I am German and yeah.

*When you're in the States what are people's reactions to you, when you meet someone for the first time?*

The people's reactions?

Uhuh.

Well, often times they don't, they're not aware that I'm German or that they think I'm American I don't know because a lot of people said my accent is pretty American and it's good and people. Once I talk to them a little longer they realize or they hear something different, you know, but I just start talking ... story, shoe store, guy didn't know he wasn't American.

*What about your friends and your family here. Do they think that you've become really American?*

Um. No I don't think so. They just know that I like the language a lot and that I'm quite good at it...

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